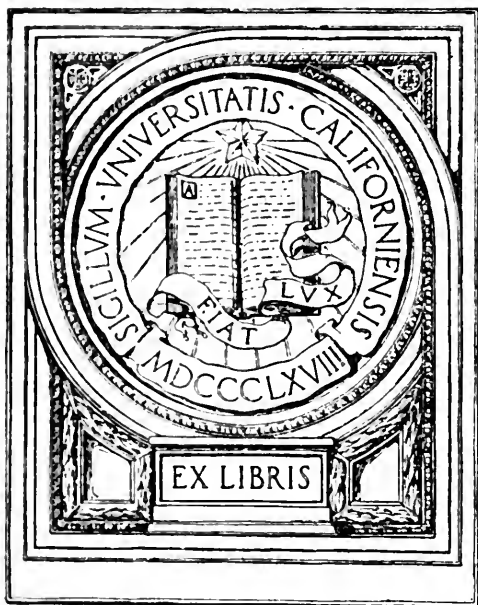


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THE INDUSTRIAL CONFLICT

The Industrial Conflict

A SERIES OF CHAPTERS ON
PRESENT-DAY CONDITIONS

BY

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I

THE PROBLEM STATED

Real Conflict between Employer and Employed—Letters from Labour Leaders and Large Employers of Labour—Mutual Interest in Large and Cheap Production—Conflict Arising from Distribution of Product.

For more than a hundred years writers in various countries have been discussing questions of labour, production, and distribution; but there still remains something to be said. What is needed is a statement in clear English of the essential facts and fundamental principles involved in the relations of employer and employed. We are in the midst of a time of great upheaval. Any day there may be actual conflict in particular trades, and every day there is potential conflict in all the trades. The literature of the subject may be divided into two general classes. One group of discussions, the more scientific in form and the more difficult of comprehension, considers how matters would go on if the actual working world were such a place as the theoretical economic world in which the writer lives. The other group of discussions takes a

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brief either for the employer or the employed, and with much noise and fury seeks to win a partisan verdict. This study differs from all that has been written upon the question, in that it is not based upon a theoretic, but a real world, and, instead of seeking to serve some theory, endeavours to show the actual grounds upon which the whole subject rests, and, rejecting both matters of method and incidental questions, to set in a clear light the issues involved.

It will be shown that there is a real conflict between employer and employed of a permanent nature. If this be true, it follows that the questions involved cannot be settled by gentle sentiments or brotherly advice. These relations are a part of that universal struggle for existence which, though blackened by many a shadow and scarred by many a defeat, has yet worked out the good and the glory of human life. All higher forms of social organisation have been the resultant of struggle. In government, these struggles lead toward democracy; in religion, they conduct toward freedom; and in economics, they are to result in the emancipation of the working classes.

It is perfectly futile to seek to quiet the contending parties by assuring them that there is

no ground for any strife, and that in reality the interests of master and man are precisely identical. The nature of the conflict may be briefly stated. It is summed up in the question, "Who shall have the surplus result of labour after interest and rent, superintendence and the maintenance of workingmen have been provided?" Such surplus exists. This is manifest by the increasing wealth of the world, and may be easily reinforced by study of the statistics of any civilised nation, but particularly results of labour in the United States, Great Britain, and Germany. This surplus has always been claimed as a right by the employers. It is the denial of this right upon the part of organised workingmen that makes the conflict.

A partial recognition of the claims of workingmen is sometimes made in what is known as profit sharing, but so long as profit sharing means the distribution of such a part of the profits as the employer sees fit to give as a gratuity to the men working under him, it differs in no respect from any other charity, except that it denies the most important item in all charity work, namely, that giving depends not upon deserts, but upon needs.

In order that my discussion might have a real character, I determined at the outset to secure the

co-operation of representative men in its preparation. Letters were sent to the most important labour leaders in the United States, asking them to state briefly but definitely what it is the workingmen want. Similar letters were sent to the largest employers of labour in the country, asking them to state, in view of the disturbances in the labour world, what the employers want. A sufficient number of answers was received to make the letters a valid basis for the present state of opinion in the economic world. These letters are printed in this study, and furnish the basis of the discussion. Anyone who will take the trouble to read two or three times over the answers of each of the classes, will find growing upon him composite photographs of the minds of the employers and the employed at the present time. He will be surprised at the greater scope of the letters from the workingmen, and the greater vigour in their style. This composite workingman has the larger outlook upon life. The composite employer is more urbane, more perplexed, and really feels himself aggrieved by the present situation. He evidently feels, however, that the conflict is transitory, and that he will soon be victor. The writers of these letters were promised that their names should

not be used when their letters were published, in order to secure them from annoyance, but chiefly in order to secure from them a perfectly frank statement of facts. The discussion is limited by the fact that the letters from the labour people were all from those who are connected with labour organisations. The discussion itself will show why this has been done. The employers are themselves quite as well organised as the workingmen, and their organisations seem to the employers of labour very important. In the current printers' strike the men of a certain shop went to the employer and said: "If you will resign from your union, we will resign from ours, and we think with such a man as you are we can get along," but the employer declined to resign from his union. This is a very significant fact, and throws a flood of light upon the situation.

I have steadily adhered to the opinion that what is needed is to lay bare primary facts rather than to discuss temporary methods. Methods must change with changing economic situations, and with the advance in social capacity, but so long as the wage system lasts there are certain primary facts which will not change, and with these the chief interest in the discussion must lie. In the

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May, 1906, number of the *Annals of the American Academy*. Mr. Beverly Smith, Secretary of the Employing Lithographers' National League, presented an article on the mutual government plan of preventing industrial conflicts. It was a nicely worked out scheme for voluntary arbitration, and certainly promised well. Mr. Beverly Smith evidently thought that if it were imitated in the other trades, industrial peace would be near at hand. Within three months from the time that the article appeared, the lithographers' strike was an accomplished fact. Nice schemes, that sound well and are really very reasonable, are easily torn up by the conflicting passions of men, which are by no means reasonable, and yet which constitute the strongest force in human history.

The following, it seems to me, are the most important facts revealed by present-day study of the labour question:

1. There is a mutual interest between the workman and his employer. That mutual interest consists in securing the largest and cheapest production of useful commodities. Whatever methods of combination either of capital or labour, whatever location of plant or methods of production lend themselves to economic production, are

in the long run sure of adoption. Large and cheap production gives the largest surplus after interest and rent, superintendence and maintenance are paid.

2. The adverse interest of employer and employed is in the distribution of the product arising from their mutual industrial co-operation. This struggle for the spoils of labour is precisely the same question as the struggle between tribes and nations, and the struggle within tribes and nations of king and priest, ruler and ruled, and of the various social classes and social interests.

3. The adverse interest between employer and employed results necessarily in conflict. All forms of social organisation are the recorded group judgment of the result of struggle. New social institutions arise as the result of new struggles. They are victories made lawful. The social interest in this conflict is very great. That social interest is sufficient to insist that the conflict must take place under rules. It seems apparent that the organisations, both of employers and of employed, are in the interests of lawful combat.

4. In the last analysis, labour conflicts must be carried on under rules formulated by the State. The State, as the most authoritative organ of

social life, must be depended upon to secure justice to all parties. In primitive savagery private vengeance was the sole check upon crime. When organised society became strong, it became the arbiter of private disputes. It is not a necessary deduction from this principle that compulsory arbitration is the only or the proper method to be pursued. Compulsory arbitration has grave difficulties which are not to be here discussed. It may, however, be said that quasi-public corporations, such as railroads, may well be placed under restrictions not applicable to private corporations. The method of control, and the extent of control, may well vary according to varying conditions. The essential principle is that both employers and employed, corporations and private interests, must alike bow to the majesty of the State, which represents the final social and moral judgments of the entire people. I am not without hope that the discussion which follows will throw some light upon the primary facts and principles involved in current economic conditions.

II

LETTERS FROM LABOUR LEADERS

Preliminary Statement—National Leaders—
Local Leaders.

THE following letters from leaders of labour in various parts of the country are offered not for their strength of argument or their fulness of discussion, but as the testimony of witnesses who are quite competent to state certain facts which are very much needed in order to arrive at sound conclusions. The unsigned letters are, from some points of view, even more important than those which are signed. The writers have immunity from any possible criticism either by their associates in the labour ranks or by their employers. There is no stimulus to pride which might seek the production of letters well worth reading. The immediate, and, I may be allowed to say, the unpremeditated character of the letters, while a possible source of criticism from some points of view, precisely adds to their value for the purposes of this discussion. The things that lie upon the surface of the mind,

the mental resultant of years of experience, and, oftentimes, conflict, are precisely those issues which we wish defined. It is not the labour grievance that may be dug up by the man who takes time to think, but that thing of which he is readiest to speak, and which he can most quickly formulate, which gives us the best material. It is the quick answer to the unexpected question that the lawyer finds to be the very pearl of price in testimony in the court room. Some of the letters might have been amended to give them better literary form, but it has seemed wiser to present the statements substantially as they came from the hands of the writers. A few unimportant sentences have been omitted, but otherwise the statements represent correctly the present mind of the writers.

Another thing which adds value to these witnesses is that they represent different parts of the country, and, most of all, they represent different positions in the ranks of labour. It is not the voice of the national leaders alone that is heard, but men of importance in local fields speak, and three or four of no importance at all except to themselves and their families and a narrow circle of friends. But these last are as important as the others, because they reveal the point of view of the

inconspicuous man. The answers cover a very wide range of topics. They make many demands, and yet it will be seen that, with one or two exceptions, the letter writers are at substantial accord with one another. This is a very significant fact. It shows that the ranks of labour must not be regarded as a disorganised mob, if they have not become a thoroughly well-disciplined army. They are not without important points of intellectual agreement, if they have not yet come to that full self-consciousness that belongs to those who know their strength and are certain of the way in which they intend to use it. There is one limitation in these letters that is very significant, and that is the absence of self-examination and self-criticism. A single writer indicates that workingmen have not yet developed to its fullest extent the sense of need for organisation. This writer is as the voice of one crying in the wilderness to those outside the ranks to come into the fold of organised labour. Perhaps, however, it is only fair to add that the form of the question propounded and the use to be made of the answers, did not indicate the line of reflection which would have produced suggestions as to the need of development, breadth, culture, character, and capacity, in order to secure

the results required. The one suggestion in regard to social reorganisation is one that looks toward a socialistic form of the State, and aside from reference to the tenement-house question, there is almost no discussion of the immediate thing that might be done through organised society to benefit the working classes. For the most part, the letters show a sense of aloofness that is very marked. The forces of labour are regarded as standing over against the forces of capital, and as outside the range of sympathy and interest that belong to the general social group. The silences of the letters will be almost as significant to the thoughtful reader as the things that are demanded, but these silences are founded upon limitations of economic theory and a lack of perception of the solidarity of human interests, which is quite as noticeable in the letters from the employers as in those from the workmen.

MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS,

President The American Federation of Labour.

“What does Labour want? It wants the earth and the fulness thereof. There is nothing too precious, there is nothing too beautiful, too lofty, too ennobling, unless it is within the scope and

comprehension of Labour's aspiration and wants. To be more specific, the expressed demands of labour are: First and foremost, a reduction of the hours of labour to eight hours to-day—fewer to-morrow. Steam power has been applied on a most extensive scale. The improvement of tools, the consequent division of labour, the force of electricity is now applied to an enormous extent. . . . The tendency is to employ the machines continuously (the worker has been made part of the machine), and the direction has been in the line of endeavouring to make the wealth producers work longer hours.

“ In every city and town throughout this broad land of plenty, gaunt figures, hungry men and women with blanched faces, and children having the marks of premature age and emaciated conditions indelibly impressed upon their countenances, stalk through the streets and highways.

“ We demand a reduction of the hours of labour, which would give a due share of work and wages to the reserve army of labour, and eliminate many of the worst abuses of the industrial system.

“ Labour demands and insists upon the right to organise for self and mutual protection.

“ The toilers want the abrogation of all laws

discriminating against them in the exercise of those functions which make our organisations, in the economic struggle, a factor and not a farce. We demand equality before the law in fact as well as in theory.

“And by no means the least demand of the Trade Unions is for adequate wages. The Trade Union, taking normal conditions as its point of view, regards the workingman as the producer of the wealth of the world, and demands that wages, as long as the wage system may last, shall be sufficient to enable him to support his family in a manner consistent with existing civilisation, and all that is required for maintaining and improving physical and mental health, and the self-respect of human beings.

“Render our lives, while working, safe and healthful as modern science demonstrates it is possible. Save our children in their infancy from being forced into the maelstrom of wage slavery. See to it that they are not dwarfed in body and mind, or brought to a premature death by early drudgery. Give them the sunshine of the school and playground, instead of the factory, the mine, and the workshop.

“We want more school houses and less jails;

more books and less arsenals; more learning and less vice; more constant work and less crime; more leisure and less greed. These are the demands made by the labourer upon modern society, and in their consideration is involved the fate of civilisation."

WILLIAM D. HUBER,

President The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

"Your note of the 21st in which you ask for a 'brief' on 'What the workingmen want,' is received, and it affords me a great pleasure to assist you with my little mite, which I hope will be acceptable to you.

"To begin, I say to you in all sincerity and candour that the workingmen want the eight-hour day. Not because it will give them more opportunity and time to spend in gin mills and grog shops, but for the simple reason that it gives the younger generation growing up a better opportunity to educate themselves, and thus assume the duties of honourable American citizenship.

"The organised workingmen want the closed shop. The only commodity we have to sell is our

labour, and I think we have the right to say to whom that labour shall be sold, how it shall be sold, and in selling, who shall be our competitors and who shall be our co-workers.

“We want law and order; we want our federal, state and local statutes enforced; but in times of peace we don’t want, neither will we stand for, ‘government by injunction.’

“We want the elimination of child slavery, one of the greatest commercial evils that ever blackened the name of our fair republic. To think of tots not in their ‘teens’ working and slaving from ten to twelve hours a day, in the offices and factories, the mills and shops, making themselves prematurely old men and women, being thrown into contact with older heads who, sometimes, I am sorry to say, are not choice in their language! This bodes ill for the rising generation, and it is enough to make the blood boil in the veins of any American to see these little children dragging themselves wearily homeward when their tasks are completed.

“And yet we hear many ‘captains of industry’ say that ‘commercial industries, the growth of the country, has made necessary the employment of children on certain work,’ and that it is due to

conditions over which they have no control. If such be the case—if Mammon, greed, avarice, are to be predominating influences in this country, if the aristocrats are going to sacrifice the children of the republic for the benefit of their class, that they may buy a few more automobiles, take a few more trips to the old country, send *their* children to colleges, educate them to hate the masses, instead of teaching them to extend the helping hand to their less fortunate brethren, then, if the above is going to be permitted to obtain, I for one would sanction and endorse ‘race suicide’; I don’t believe we should bring children into this world and confront them with abject slavery, as is now the rule.

“Our Saviour said, ‘Suffer little children to come unto me,’ but how can we expect the human slaves to take an interest in the spiritual world when they are kept at the drudgery in the places mentioned before for six days in the week.

“Happily, however, these conditions are being looked into, fought against, and the elimination of them is being championed, not only by the trade unionists, the thinking people, the people believing in a square deal, but last, and by no means least, the ministers, who are rendering valiant

service in this respect, and I am only too pleased to assist you in any way you may ask."

JOHN MITCHELL

President The United Mine Workers of America.

"Immigration should be restricted for the protection of American labour as it is to-day. The men who are now employed in our mines and factories should be safeguarded against the new arrivals who are willing to step into their places for lower wages. This seems to be one of the important reasons for a reform in this branch of our national policy.

"I believe that the educational qualification for the admission of the immigrant should be raised. He should be able to read and write his native language reasonably well. Such a restriction would give us a better class of immigrants than we get now, and a class less likely to swell the ranks of too cheap labour.

"Besides demanding the educational qualification, we ought to require of these immigrants that they bring enough to transport them to whatever section of the country offers the greatest advantages to them."

W. S. STONE,

Grand Chief Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

“What the workingmen want more than anything else at present is shorter hours and compensation commensurate with the services they perform. Under our high pressure of living, men wear out much quicker than they used to, and in order to provide for the years when they can earn nothing, it is necessary for them to receive sufficient to enable them to live in a respectable way and still put something away for a rainy day. Under the long hours which they now put in, it leaves them no margin of time for reading or the cultivation of the mind, and there is more in life than just eating and sleeping and working. There also needs to be developed a general sympathy between the employer and the employed. In this age of the world man is considered nothing more than a machine. He is not looked upon as a brother. We realise that there must always be those that toil with the hands and those that toil with the brain. One cannot get along without the other, but this labour should be co-operative, and kindly feeling should exist between the two, instead of which we have division and strife, the

one oppressing and the other resenting. What we need most of all, in all classes, is a higher type of individual development, and in order to get this, both sides must concede something."

CORNELIUS GUINEY,

Editor The Minnesota Union Advocate.

"You ask me to state my understanding of what workingmen want. I will confine myself to a few of the most immediate and most essential of those demands which the present generation of union workingmen and women expect to see realised in their own time.

"They want nothing which is not theirs by right of natural law. Nor do they want anything that they cannot command through unity of action among them. A more reasonable proportion than they have ever yet received of the wealth created by their labour and skill is a prime demand of the modern working man and woman. What that proportion is can best be indicated by the shameful disproportion now existing between what *they* get and what the exploiters of their labour get.

"As a prime requirement of this they want to be

secure in their right under the prevailing industrial system to bargain for the sale of their labour on the collective principle. This want is fundamental; and with it goes the right to strike in enforcement of their existing demands.

“They want to prevent the members of the judicial bench, most of whom are the representatives of the other party to contracts of employment, to keep their hands off. They want, therefore, to take from all judges the power to use the writ of injunction in the interest of the other contracting party—a practice on the part of the American judiciary which has long since become and still remains a public scandal and a crime.

“Working men and women will never be placed on an equality with their employers in bargaining for their services until the dread of want from enforced temporary idleness is removed. When they have reached this point, which can be reached through the existence of wholly adequate reserve funds in the treasuries of their respective organisations, and when they have once demonstrated to corrupt professional politicians and plundering corporations—the principal employers of such politicians—that they can use the ballot success-

fully in support of their demands, the right of collective bargaining will no longer be disputed. And the recognition of many other of their palpable rights, now contemptuously denied them, will then follow in short order.

“Industrial society to-day is conducted pretty much as the hunt for food is carried on by predatory wild beasts. Animal cunning and brute force are at a premium in each.

“The present generation of working men and women want to change the existing dog-eat-dog system for another humane enough at least to embody the principle of live-and-let-live. Throughout the ages they have been the under and the eaten dog; and, since the scuffle must continue on the same lines at least during their lives, they want to be able to engage in it in the future, if possible, with some chance of coming out of it with a whole hide.

“Working men and women have had dinned into them from the beginning the sacredness of the duty of the individual toward society. They have got to thinking lately that the duty of society toward the individual ought to be no less sacred. Many of them think that society owes some other duty toward its producing members

than merely the one of punishing them when they violate the law and protecting them against crimes of violence. They are beginning to see that when a man has exhausted his physical and mental resources for the general betterment, society owes him some reward besides the degrading shelter of the poorhouse.

“And so they want American society to make early and adequate provision for old-age pensions, as has long since been done by nations which are not given to boasting of either their freedom or their prosperity.

“Neither working men nor women any longer take the teachings of the ministers, the politicians, or the authors as seriously as they were once taken. They want such teachings in the future to lay as much stress on humanity and men’s worldly happiness as they did in the past on God and their eternal happiness, or on their duty as law-abiding citizens.

“The men and women for whom organised labour now speaks—and they include productive workers in all the mechanical callings outside as well as within the unions—have done the drudgery of the world in the past. They are still doing it, and, in most cases, doing it without having

awarded to them enough to buy adequate food, clothing, and shelter. Union workingmen want to remedy this, if they can, or at least to work some amelioration of it. It is not unreasonable for them to want, as they do want, that the children of the poor shall at least be as well provided for in physical comforts as are the dumb beasts of the rich.

“Social and economic changes will be needed to secure even such paltry wants as these. But these changes are coming. Workingmen not only want to see them come, but they are setting themselves seriously to the task of making them come. And, when they have come, you and I may still be living to see brought into the lives of the workingmen whose wants you inquire about, more of love and leisure, and less of dirt and drudgery than are found there to-day. Intelligence, contentment, happiness can be expected then to prevail among them, at least in some increased degree, where now their physical environments throw them back on the fiendish devices which society maintains at their very hands to make and keep them diseased, ignorant, impoverished, and discontented.”

“The labouring man wants an eight-hour day, so that he may be enabled to have a leisure hour with his family; that he may prepare his children for the work that is before them; that he may educate himself, and be active in politics; that he may think for himself instead of being the tool of a scoundrel. Education of the toiler will bring him and his family into closer relation to the house of God.

“I believe the foundation of the nation, and labour as a part, is the home, and what we can make it. The tenement and the congested condition of the abodes of its working people in our cities should be eliminated to a certain extent by building homes on its outskirts—better homes than he can possibly have in the tenement.

“Nothing comes nearer to my ideal than a home surrounded by a little of nature, a garden-spot, a blade of grass, and an opportunity to observe the Sabbath in a fitting manner—to study the teaching of Christ, feeling that you are filling your place in the world to the fullest measure, and are not a mere unit of production, a mere machine with a close relation to the serf.

“A child whose playground is the street becomes associated with the evil side of the humdrum,

existence of to-day to such an extent that it becomes callous to evil, and readily steps into the path of evildoers.

“The toiler wants child-labour laws enforced in all States of the Union to prevent the child from being made a slave of corporate greed that borders on the condition of the black chattel of the sixties, for the toiler of the present generation feels a responsibility for the men and women who are to replace him under the standard of labour in the next generation.

“The labouring class wants a fair share of that which they help to produce, that they may live and better their conditions; they want government control of public utilities, leaving fuel, light, and food out of the hands of monopoly.

“The labouring class wants postal savings banks under the direct control of Uncle Sam, where a deposit, however small, may be made, that they may feel that their savings are not going to be the means by which unscrupulous scoundrels may promote their own extravagance and dissipation.

“The labouring class of to-day, whose last resort is strike, wants strikes and their attendant bitterness replaced by a Board of Arbitration,

who shall arbitrate the differences of the employer and employed by a fair and impartial decision. This would also tend to create within the labourer a spirit of pride in his Government and in the laws of the land instead of the contempt he must necessarily have for the court-made laws so frequently applied by the Federal Court. Laws are made by men so as to be unmade by them to grant special privileges to the employing class. State Employment Bureaus are among the labourers' wants.

"In passing, I will say that a majority of our labouring classes realise the evils attendant upon the free rein given the saloon-keepers, and the menace they are to the progress of the toiler, because we know that a person whose mind is bemuddled with liquor is an easier victim of him who would incite riot and disorder, for Labour recognises Law, and wants Law, but not law applied under a special privilege system."

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"In answer to your question, 'What do the workingmen want?' I will say for one thing, a change in the economic conditions whereby an overproduction of food will not cause the producer of that food to be threatened with hunger;

or an overproduction of wool and cotton will not make it necessary for the worker to dress shabbily.

“They want the establishment of conditions whereby a man who is willing to work will never lack an opportunity, and whereby he will receive as a reward for his labour the equivalent of what he produces. They want the natural resources to be held as public domain and developed as needed.

“They want not to be compelled to compete with the machine and the dollar as well as with each other.

“They want the privilege of working without paying tribute to some arrogant master who imagines he has a divine right to fence up a part of the public domain and call it his own, as in the case of the mining and lumbering industries, notably.

“They want peace between nations, between races, and between men, for they believe that war is wholesale murder, and is generally planned and caused by some private interests of the money power, and is for someone’s gain and aggrandisement.

“They want the liberty and equality which our forefathers fought for in 1776.

“They want emancipation from the rule of the master, as did the black man want emancipation in 1861.

“In short, the working people want a co-operative commonwealth—socialism, if you please.”

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 “It may be envy, or it may be ambition, or possibly the native intelligence of the workman which leads him to believe that he can do better in the future than in the past. Like others, he measures his worth by a money standard, and he is continually reminded of the lowness of his standard. As a means to an end he has found that concerted action is better than individual action. He has discovered also that the shortest way is not always the surest road.

“The old-time workman worked 12 to 16 hours without a murmur. His labour was varied in character. He was not kept wholly at one detail of work. Haste was unknown, and was not required of him. The introduction of machinery altered his position. The scope of his work was limited. It limited him. It worked incessantly; he must needs do the same. It must have his constant care. He became in a measure like the machine he tended—an automaton. The greater

use of machinery handicapped the labourer even though it multiplied the demand for the product of labour.

“The workman had to become a specialist, and felt that he ought to share proportionately the profits of the increased labour required of him. In time he discovered that long hours lessened opportunities of labour for others, and with true socialistic instinct, which by nature we all possess, unless perverted, he combined to shorten hours of labour, to help a brother-labourer provide bread for his household. In a word, the labourer of to-day wants work, he wants money for his work, he wants his fellow-labourer to have work, and all want a reasonable amount of leisure for educational purposes, for recreation and general profit. He also wants to labour in congenial, sanitary conditions, and no longer to be considered a slave for the enrichment of a few already too rich captains of industry.”

“In answering your question, ‘What do workmen want?’ I reply, ‘Justice.’ They feel that they do not receive now that which rightfully belongs to them—that all wealth is the product of labour (physical and mental), and that no man

has the right to one cent he does not earn, except as charity; that the producing power of man has so increased by the invention of machinery, and the skill of man, that the average man now produces six times more in a day's work than his grandfather did. That his grandfather used to receive, even under rent laws, one-half of what he produced. That now he receives only one-fifth.

“ Or, to put it in another form : The average man earns \$2448 per year (U. S. Reports), and only receives \$452 in return. Again, when he sees the extravagant display of wealth upon the part of his employer, and compares this with his own hard struggle for existence, it makes him discontented. Now, while wages have increased about 15 per cent. in the last ten years, living has increased over 30 per cent., and therefore his condition has not improved, and being a student, more or less, of the economical conditions, his eyes are being opened. So in the midst of the greatest prosperity, we witness a spirit of great discontent. He contends that his hours should be reduced to eight, because of the strenuous life he has to live. Ten hours over a machine, or on a locomotive, or any other such work, makes a nervous wreck of him in a few years, and if he does not break down

before he is forty, his employer will dismiss him as too old. So he sees for self-protection his hours must be reduced, and thus save his life. He also sees that there is no need for such long hours in a land of such wealth, and with this view I am in full accord.

“A more comprehensive view, I believe, could be secured under the heading, ‘Labour and Organisation, and Why?’ In the past it has been our experience that orators who have taken this subject, generally compared labourers in the United States with those of other countries, thus conveying to the public a feeling that the labour of our country is already overpaid, and ought to be satisfied with conditions as they exist in this country to-day.

“Another method of comparison which should be condemned, is a condition existing in European countries, where women as well as men are compelled to enter the fields of manual labour in order to secure a livelihood—a sort of limited slavery. The above conditions exist chiefly among the Germanic and Slavonic races, where men are considered monarchs of the home. I, as a descendant of the German peoples, and living among a labouring element, often hear of the conditions in

the 'Fater Lant,' and the boasting of some ignoramus condemning the mothers of our country because they will not leave their homes and babes to work with the men. Not only this is mentioned, but they go further, telling how they were compelled to work from sunrise to sunset when mere mites of children. Then why should we wonder that ignorance and inability are so prevalent among the masses?

"True it is that in the United States conditions are not quite like those I have mentioned, but it is also true that the hoarding of wealth of the nation by a few is tending to bring about conditions like these, or worse.

"Statisticians estimate the wealth of our country thus:

There is in the United States land worth.....
Money amounting to.....
Other resources.....

"Then, taking figures so collected and dividing same by number of inhabitants, ascertain the wealth of each citizen, forgetting the fact that the great bulk of our wealth is in the hands of few.

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“Then you ask me, ‘What do the workingmen want?’

“We will consider for an illustration a workman receiving as a wage forty dollars per month. Out of this he must support a family, rarely under five members, pay rent, at the least from \$16 to \$20; eatables, \$15 to \$20; clothes, doctor’s bills, and many sundry expenses necessary to maintain life—all from this small sum. Perhaps you ask, ‘How can this be accomplished?’ The answer is, ‘It cannot.’

“How then can he make ends meet? He must either steal, or leave some things unpaid, or put his children to work at the time when they should be in school preparing for a better life than their parents have lived, or resort to the most shameful of all and send the mother to work, when we well know she is needed to take care of the home.

“What the workingmen want is enlightenment enough—the opportunity to acquire enlightenment necessary to unite and act as one. Then Labour will awake fully and realise its latent power, ceasing to patiently accept the lashes of capitalisation like a trained animal.

“Now for some light upon the mechanical or skilled labourers, who constitute the middle classes.

I will endeavour to illustrate by mentioning some facts which the press always fails to present. In the strike of the electricians this past spring very few people realised the actual conditions. A line-man must devote not less than three years to learning his trade. Then the employer thinks it usury to pay him \$2.75 per day. Now then, consider that this man has a family. He is in momentary danger of his life while at work. Then, too, he earns only enough for a meagre living. Some day, most unexpectedly, he is killed. What then has his family to protect them? Absolutely nothing. He cannot take out insurance, because insurance companies refuse to accept a man so employed. There are a few fraternal orders which do accept him, but he must pay additional hazard premiums, making it impossible for such a person to pay for protection for his little ones and family. Again, he is not earning enough to save anything for the future. Yet people say, and most believe, it was unfair to ask for a small increase in this man's pay. The time is at hand when capital will enslave the workingman, or Labour will show its strength, and separate capital from capitalist.

“Will Labour cease slumbering and bring to the surface for use its hidden strength, or continue

to remain the horse of ages, accepting hoarded wealth's lash without a murmur?

"If my language were not so limited, I might go on citing the various oppressions that the well-organised employers are subjecting the bone and sinew of our country to.

"I would like to call attention to the 'Bill of Grievances' presented by Congressman Towne, in behalf of Labour, at the last session of that honourable body.

"Believing that you can, by reference to the above mentioned document, secure valuable material for the subject mentioned, 'What the work-
ingmen want.'"

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"I have always and at all times tried to the best of my ability to elevate my fellow-workman to a position whereby he might know his rights as a citizen, and his rights to live in this grand and great republic, and to receive a fair share of the products of his labour. The wants of the working man and woman are many, and too numerous for me to state, yet there are a few I would like to call your attention to: One is the female clerks in the department stores, who are continually on their feet from the time they go to work in the morning until the stores close at night,

and, as I have been informed, they do not receive compensation enough to clothe and support themselves properly, and this in a Christian community. Their wants should be called to the attention of the public and to the minds of our charitable and public-spirited citizens.

“Another is our unskilled or common workman, who has no one to advocate his rights. His lot is a hard one, and his hours long. While some people tell us that it requires no brains to do common labour, nevertheless the labouring man is human, and his requirements should be looked after, and his position in life elevated.

“The last one is the factory girl. Her welfare deserves the goodwill of a fair-minded public, and her surroundings should be made more pleasant, for factory life at its best is unpleasant.

“Organised and skilled labour is in a fair way to bring about a better understanding between the employer and employed. Some say the pulpit is not the place for politics—it is only for the word of God. That may be, but to my mind there are no men better fitted and more qualified to elevate the working people than the ministers of the gospel. If we cannot go to our ministers to be instructed in the brotherhood of man—that brotherhood that our Saviour taught to His apostles, and

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to all that He came in contact with while preaching his doctrines on this earth, then to whom shall we go? The American people love fair play, they love the man who is independent and courageous, because this man personifies the spirit which has made this nation great."

“Replying to yours of the 26th ult., I give below a few of the things a labouring man wants:

“1. A just proportion of the wealth he produces.

“2. An equal standing with capital before the courts of the land.

“3. A system of taxation, national and State, which will remove a portion of the burden from the shoulders of producer and place it upon capital.

“4. An eight-hour day, in order that he may have time for self-improvement and healthful recreation.

“5. The right of organisation for mutual protection.

“6. The protection of women and children in all the avenues of labour.”

“You request me to give in a definite, compact,

and direct way, what changes I think should be made in the present relations between employer and employed to give the workingmen what they ought to have.

“First, he should have (what he has not now) a fair profit on his investment (his labour), his only capital.

“Second, he should be made to feel that above all he is a man, a necessity to the prosperity of his employer, not a machine to be carted to one side as soon as, in the smallest degree, his physical strength deteriorates.

“Third, he has a right to expect, but cannot demand, that his services will command remuneration enough to place his life companion and himself beyond want after a certain age—say fifty—without in the meantime depriving himself of the actual necessities and a few of the luxuries of life.

“Fourth, he should be able to educate his children until such time as they are in a position to earn their own living.

“Fifth, he should receive such compensation as will enable him in time to amass enough to own his home, and that without injury to the health of his family or himself.

“Sixth, let the employer divide a certain per cent. of profit (if any) annually among faithful employees. If he does this, when losses occur, if he will confer with them, he will at least get sympathy, if not a reduction in wages, until profits are again secured, when, if he is honest, he will reimburse them for sacrifices made.

“Seventh, the workingmen want employers to be christian seven days in the week instead of one, to do unto others as they would have others do unto them, to carry their Christianity into their everyday life.

“Eighth, if employers would evince more interest in the temporal welfare of employees, if they would greet them with a cordial handshake, a ‘Good-morning, Bill,’ would visit their homes, inquire as to their financial condition as well as their spiritual, treat them as equals, in the sight of God at least, the question of strikes, boycotts, etc., would settle itself in a short time; there would be cosmos where now there is industrial chaos, the age of miracles would again be with us. God would indeed reign.”

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In order to place before the reader the full demands of labour at a glance, a summary has

been made of the principal points contained in the letters. They do not include everything contained in all the labour platforms of various kinds in recent years, but I think they may be regarded as substantially filling the requirements of a complete program. The insistent demands are for shorter hours, larger wages, and the closed shop. The other demands are not so numerous nor so energetically supported.

THE LETTERS CONDENSED

1. The workingman wants shorter hours. The introduction of machinery has required him to work faster, and so he wishes shorter hours, and feels that he ought to share proportionately the profits of the increased labour required of him.

2. He wants an eight-hour day. Ten hours on a machine or locomotive makes a nervous wreck of him in a few years. For his protection his hours must be reduced. He needs time for self-improvement and healthful recreation.

3. The public should insist that the female clerks in the department stores receive more compensation. The unskilled workman has no one to advocate his rights, and he, also, should be as-

sisted. The welfare of the factory girl deserves the goodwill of a fair-minded public. These need more help than organised and skilled labour.

4. Organised workmen want the "closed shop."
"We want law and order, but we do not want government by injunction."

5. "We want the elimination of child labour."

6. Labour demands the right to organise for self and mutual protection. He needs enlightenment enough to unite.

7. A system of taxation, national and State, which will remove the burden from the shoulders of the producer and place it upon capital.

8. The protection of women and children in all the avenues of labour.

9. The workman should be made to feel that he is a man, and not a machine. If employers would evince more interest in the welfare of employees, and treat them as equals in the sight of God at least, there would be cosmos where now there is industrial chaos.

10. The workmen want employers to be Christians seven days in a week, and to carry their Christianity into their everyday lives.

11. Workmen demand sanitation and safety devices in all shops and factories. There needs to be

developed general sympathy between employer and employee; man is considered nothing more than a machine. He is not looked upon as a brother.

12. The tenement and the congested conditions of the homes of the workingmen should be improved by building houses on the outskirts of cities.

13. Government control of public utilities, taking fuel, light, and food out of the hands of the monopolists.

14. Postal Savings Banks under the direct control of the government.

15. A board of arbitration created by the State to settle differences between employer and employee.

16. Immigration should be restricted for the protection of American labour.

17. Conditions whereby a man who is willing to work would never lack an opportunity. Natural resources held as public domain so that the workman will not have to pay tribute to some arrogant master, as in the case of the mining and lumber industries. Emancipation from the rule of the master, as did the black man in 1861.

18. They want peace, for war is generally caused and planned by some interest of the money power.

CHAPTER III

PRIMARY DEMANDS OF LABOUR

Liberty of Organisation—Shorter Hours—
Larger Wages—The Closed Shop.

IN discussing the demands of labour I have no hope at all that what I shall say will be pleasing to all the parties to the controversy. That there is a controversy is, of course, substantial evidence that there is no agreement between the parties, and yet I am not without hope that in setting forth the views of the wage earners on the one hand, and of the employers on the other, clearly and fairly, the exposition may serve to make the nature of the disagreement understood, and to contribute something toward an adjustment of the difficulties. It would be foolish to deny that the forces commonly known as capital and labour stand over against each other, either in open antagonism or in armed neutrality. It is sometimes stated that the labour unions constitute not more than twenty per cent. of the working population, and on the other hand, the employing class con-

stitutes a much smaller percentage, but meantime the whole public is so inextricably united with both classes that it shares in their practical debates, and suffers tremendously from any economic follies in which they may indulge. The general public see in the conflict only the work of huge mechanical forces; they see that capital is bulwarked with power, and supported by statutes; they see that labour has come to feel in a new way its latent power, has a new-born sense of rights which have hitherto been denied, and in the name of the new industrial democracy is flinging banners to the breeze which may become the symbols of revolution. But the forces are not mechanical, and the conflict is not material. The battle is waging between men whose intellects and hearts are involved, whose social life has been begotten by ten thousand successful struggles through uncounted thousands of years, and this organic structure which we call society is not to perish by reason of labour disputes, for it is the resultant value of history, and it is too precious to the faith and love of men. It is essential that we discover the moral and social forces which are able to control, and the economic wisdom which is sufficient to guide, in the present social emergency. In

presenting the view of what workmen want, it is quite natural that the workmen referred to should be those who belong to organised labour, for organised labour is an accomplished fact. It is the organic representative of the bone and sinew of the nation. Organisation has come to stay. It has a right to stay. Its voice must be heard. It is the only form of labour that has any voice. Apart from organisation, Labour is as dumb and as weak to-day as when it cowered a trembling slave beneath the lash of its master.

It is too late to recount the history of the struggle for the right of free association. The associations of workmen fought their way by the tools of revolution to peaceable recognition. There was no other course to be pursued in England, when the power to legislate was wholly in the hands of the classes. The growth of labour unions is parallel with the growth of the modern industrial system. With the introduction of steam and machinery the household industry and the small shop were manifestly doomed. With the development of large groups of men engaged in common service, and the loss of the old intimate contact between the employer and employed, a new state of affairs was born. This new relation could

only be met by the sense of common conditions, common needs, and common rights which must of necessity come sooner or later to those engaged in common toil. The organisation of capital brought human flesh and blood face to face with an arbitrary thing which was not an entity at all in itself, which was a creature created by the law, and which seemed to have neither soul nor compassion. The evolution of property rights has been very slow, and is, practically, the history of the unfolding of juridic society. Over against this evolution of thousands of years there stands the two hundred years' development of the recognised rights of wage earners, and it is only within the last forty years that this development has been largely significant.

It is sometimes said that labour unions would be all right if they were well managed. It is absurd to expect that a form of social and industrial organisation which is recent in time, and which is essentially new in function, should come into being without many and gross mistakes. It is asking too much. Political, religious, and economic organisation, and every other form of human association has come up through great tribulation, and is the survival of uncounted blunders. The

only thing to ask is whether the labour union has promise of enough usefulness when it is developed to atone for the cost of its development. The legal battle for labour unions has been already fought out. They have a right to exist. The ethical battle will yet be won when they will have the respect of society because they will be found to serve society well.

It is time to look at the matter a little more concretely. A labour union may be defined as an association of workmen joined together for economic and social improvement. There are certain and manifest uses of such associations, and they have distinctly proved their value.

Of special significance, in the first place, is the social value. The labour union makes the craft the foundation of fellowship. It unites men of various races; it overcomes differences of creed and speech. It introduces a new and fundamental principle of social organisation. Those who study the structure of society from a scientific point of view are well aware that the strength of every social order depends upon the number and strength of the social bonds. The most coherent social organisation that ever existed was the ancient city-state, based upon one blood, one law, one land, one

religion, one speech, one government, one history, one tradition. The American value of labour unions is tremendous because our adverse social elements are not sufficiently united in common interests. The public school may be said to be the greatest agency for the development of the American type out of the complex race elements, but I should place as only second to the public school the labour union. In some respects the labour union is more efficient than the school, for while the school creates an unconscious atmosphere, the labour union furnishes men a motive for seeking with intelligence to find a common ground of faith and action.

The next value of the labour union is educational. The organisation itself stands for studies on economic questions. The labour leaders are students of these questions in a direct and special way, but the rank and file are compelled to be, incidentally, students, for they listen to all sorts of discussions upon questions to which they are only remotely related, and even though the economic theory that is expounded is not always sound, the same thing may be said of economic theory in many another form.

Not alone are economic facts and principles

made an object of inquiry, but the labour unions afford an admirable school in the power of public speech. They are the lyceums of the people. Here among equals men of ability come to the front and learn to express themselves with the sureness and clearness that would often put to shame associations of employers.

But the labour organisation is a form of discipline, and this is increasingly true. It used to be regarded as an engine of revolt, or an organisation of agitation, but nothing is finer than the self-control of some of the labour leaders, and increasingly the labour unions not only seek to promote wise reforms, but to suppress unwise or untimely agitations.

Now, if the labour union had only social value and educational value, it would doubtless receive the endorsement of employers, and of the public generally, but in addition it has manifested economic value. By agitation and education, by persuasion and revolt, the labour unions have increased wages in many branches of toil, and have largely reduced the hours of labour. They have made better the economic conditions of their members, and they have done more; for, indirectly, they have raised the wages of large numbers of people not

connected with the unions. By increasing the amount of wages they have increased the power of consumption, and they have stimulated industries, and have assisted in developing commercial activity. Mr. James Duncan asserts that in fifteen years the 10,000 members of the Granite Cutters' Union alone have secured an increase of more than \$32,000,000 in wages.

The labour unions have been useful in securing protective legislation. Labour unions sometimes claim that they have secured this legislation single-handed and alone, but the wise leaders know that they have been assisted, and sometimes preceded, by thoughtful and philanthropic persons in no way connected with labour unions. The fact remains that the recent years coincident with the development of the labour movement have also been marked by the passage of new laws for the protection of labour. The establishment of labour bureaus by the various States furnishes the organ for all kinds of investigation and the channel through which wise suggestion for new legislation may flow. Many of the investigations of labour bureaus are not only full of practical utility, but have a great deal of scientific value. Among the laws which have been secured are those to protect

women and children by denying to children under certain ages the right to labour, and by limiting the hours when women may labour, and excluding them from certain dangerous and overtasking employment. The new legislation includes factory inspection to see that these laws are enforced, that sanitary conditions prevail, and to make further suggestions of needed improvements. The doctrine of employer's liability for injuries received in work has been entirely recast, and has compelled a federation of employers through insuring associations. These are only indications of the broad field that has been covered.

It cannot be too strongly urged that labour laws are not alone protection for the labourer, but they are also protection for the generous employer against his stingy competitor. In the struggle for existence, and in the freedom of trade which follows open markets for the purchase and sale of commodity and of labour, it is often impossible for the employer to be as generous as he is disposed to be, for he must meet the conditions imposed by the common methods of the trade in which he is engaged, both in his own city and State and in the competing territory. He is allowed to be as generous as he finds it

possible to be only if his unwilling competitor is compelled to engage in business on the same terms. These are some of the arguments in brief for the usefulness of the labour union. In my judgment they have not been and cannot be answered.

The workingmen, however, do not organise themselves into unions for speculative reasons. These would appeal to but few of them. The union is for them an organ of self-interest. They combine just as employers combine, for the sake of more power. There are some things they say they want, but there are some things they know they want. The single workman could not make the struggle, but many workmen united under one will, and speaking with a single voice, hope to be more successful. It is easy to gather from the letters here presented those demands of labour which may be called primary, because they are the most fundamental to their interest, and because they are the real and final cause for labour organisation.

The workmen want shorter hours. Will it not clarify the discussion to say that the workmen always want the shortest day's work and the largest day's pay that they can obtain? Will it not also equally assist the discussion to understand that the

employer always wants the largest production at the smallest expense? It does not seem likely that these two parties can come to any permanent agreement without a good deal of change of heart. The campaign for a shorter day's work began something like a hundred years ago. At that time men worked from twelve to sixteen hours per day. The universal demand was that ten hours constitute a day's toil. At that time I suppose every labour leader and every philanthropist engaged in the discussion would have said that ten hours was the ultimate goal. "Shorten the day to ten hours and we will be content." On the other hand, employers and statesmen asserted, and probably believed, that to reduce the day's work to ten hours would be nothing less than ruin. So great a friend of the rights of man as John Bright uttered the most gloomy predictions as to the effect upon the economical and social interests of his country in case the reform should succeed. That battle was fought, and we need not stop upon the marches and countermarches, the fortifications and mining, incident to the contest. A new campaign has been in progress, waged with a good deal of energy during the last ten or fifteen years, in favour of eight hours as the normal day's work.

Mr. Samuel Gompers shows us the nature of the contest when he says, "Labour wants eight hours to-day and fewer to-morrow." With such an announced program it is evident there can be no such thing as a permanent adjustment. In clearly recognising this state of affairs, it by no means follows that there should be a demand for a permanent adjustment. The changing and developing civilisation by its very nature precludes the final settlement of any practical question. New machinery, new methods of production, new conditions of labour change the problem. The single feature of the increased speed of machines is conclusive for a shorter day provided the old speed had the right relation to the length of the day's work then current.

The whole discussion must be lifted, however, to a higher plane than is possible by regarding the workman merely as a producing animal. He is one of the agents of production, but he is also a man. He has latent within him the highest possibilities of intellectual and social culture, of intellectual and æsthetic pleasure. There are within him all the elements of life. Must it again be repeated that human life—the life of the workman also—consists not in the abundance of

the things he may possess, nor is it wholly a measure of human capacity to say that a man working so many hours can produce such commodity. The production of commodity must always be regarded as only an incident to life, an important incident, no doubt, but real human production is not in things visible. Real human production is in character, good taste, domestic affections, social capacity, and all those higher interests which combine to make the man greater than the tool. Believing that these interests are the serious part of life, one must demand time for their cultivation. This is the essential argument for the shorter day's work, but we must not be too idealistic. It must frankly be said that in order to live in this world the material things for sustaining the animal life are a prime essential. The people of each social group must produce enough to satisfy the wants of the group, either through direct consumption or by means of barter with the members of other groups.

Another element that enters into the discussion is the undoubted fact that with the advance of civilisation, and the development of wants on the part of individuals, the amount of commodity required for consumption will steadily increase. A

highly complex social order and an increasingly compact social group requires more commodity. The discussion, therefore, at present cannot attempt to solve the question for all time. It must only consider the present conditions and the present demand. The workingmen say that they want an eight-hour day. It is not enough to say that the eight-hour day is of advantage to the particular men who demand it, but the question must be studied in a broad way by considering its effect upon society at large.

The workingmen have a powerful historic argument in their interest, since all the objections that are now urged to the shorter day were urged two generations ago against the ten-hour day. None of these gloomy predictions were fulfilled. Production has greatly increased. This is not due to any one thing. It is not due alone to the contention that the normal man cannot work eleven or twelve hours a day and be as well able to work on succeeding days—that the strain is an overtax which secures its revenge upon the body of the toiler, although there is abundance of proof that in many occupations men are able to do more work in ten hours than they could formerly do in twelve hours, not counting the increase arising

from the use of machinery. The production of machine-made machinery, and the great specialisation and sub-division in mechanical occupations are all elements of the problem, and no group of men would argue that the hands of the clock be turned back, and that we return to the conditions of former generations. Whether the eight-hour day would be as successful in production as the ten-hour day, is a present question of debate. Labour leaders affirm, and with good show of reason, that there is evidence that production will not suffer by the change, but that the eight-hour day will be even more successful from the point of view of production than the former régime. A recent work published in Belgium by Fromont recites an industrial experience in the reduction of the day's work from ten to eight hours in the chemical factories of Engis. Under the former system the men worked in shifts of twelve hours, each putting in ten and one-half hours' actual toil, with rest periods of an hour and a half. Under the new system they work eight hours a day in three shifts, each group putting in seven and one-half hours of actual toil. After a very full account of the whole matter, he concludes that the result was not only favourable to the workingmen,

but was economically successful to the company, and we have here an employer of labour publishing a book showing the advantages to the business world of the eight-hour day. The illustration is of especial importance with respect to all those establishments where the machinery is expensive, and where it is said that to reduce the hours of labour not alone means an added expense in wages, but a large addition in interest because the plant is idle so much longer. There are twenty-four hours in the day; if the machinery should be kept busy during the whole day it involves three shifts of men instead of two. In this way the interest cost is reduced very much more than the wages are increased, and the men are so much better fitted for their toil that the increased cost of wages will not be great, if, indeed, it be not reduced to a vanishing point.

Of course the argument for great factories will not cover many other occupations where the pace is not set by the machine, but by the workman himself, as, for example, in most of the building trades. If there is a criticism of the position of the workmen at any point, it is that they insist too strongly upon a day of eight hours for all occupations, instead of insisting upon a

shorter day, and varying the length of the day according to the class of occupation. I suppose it to be susceptible of proof that eight hours' toil in certain occupations is not only enough, but too much. It is probably equally susceptible of proof that there are occupations in which ten hours is not an excessive day's work, but the argument is met by the shrewd manager of the interests of labour when he says that it is impossible in the present condition of affairs to enter upon such a discussion; that in order to win a battle, all the forces must be united; in order to unite all the forces, there must be a common good to be secured by every regiment in the fight.

But it would be easy for the advocate of the shorter day to boldly challenge the foundations of the arguments of those who support the present system. He can truly say that production has very vastly increased through the operation of a number of causes. The question is, what shall be done with the increase of productive capacity? The argument for the simple life comes in here with all its force. Of what avail is it to have larger houses and smaller men? What profit is it to have better clothes for the body and ragged garments on the soul? Why fill the stomach and

leave the mind and imagination destitute of food? The argument is that increased capacity for production ought at least to be shared between the higher and the lower wants of man. You say, "But these workmen do not care for what we are pleased to call the higher wants; if they have leisure, they will spend it in dissipation; if they have more wages, it means more drink." The argument proves too much. It proves that the only way to save the working class is to work them to the limit of exhaustion. The outcome of the claim is that the higher nature is impossible to the working class. That proves too much. The very first requisite of development is more leisure. Without question, increase of leisure has often caused a temporary bad effect. Men released from grinding toil with neither guidance nor development have often gone wrong, but the fact remains that the only hope of the world lies in leisure from manual toil and the proper employment of that leisure. All experts are agreed that one of the chief causes of drunkenness and every other form of vice is toil too severe and too long continued. The shorter day is the essential need for temperance reform. When the adjustment of production and business grants leisure, social re-

sponsibility is by no means at an end. It is then the duty of society to lure men and women toward their higher interests by cheap music, free art galleries, free libraries, popular lectures, and all other forms of innocent diversion and wise stimulus in right directions that can be devised. It is certain that if the eight-hour day has not already come, it will come to-morrow. The wealth-producing power of the world goes steadily forward. The shorter day is logical. The shorter day also involves widespread social duties.

Another insistent demand of the workingman is for higher wages. It is certain that all organised labour has greatly benefited in the matter of wages by the fact of organisation. The workingman demands shorter hours, and at the same time wishes more wages for the short day than he formerly received for the long day. He does not understand why it is that some men should have enormous fortunes and live in unstinted luxury while he is compelled to practise economy and self-denial. He wishes to so readjust the industrial organisation that the great fortunes of the few will disappear because they have been equitably distributed among the many. Some men have palaces, yachts, automobiles, country parks, and

pleasure grounds while he lives in a tenement with narrow outlook, and leads a still narrower life. He has adopted the doctrine that labour is the source of wealth, as preached by Adam Smith in his "Wealth of Nations," and he concludes that if labour is the source of wealth, the labourer should have the results of toil. Here again we have a question that is not capable of definite and precise solution. At this point, too, it is noticeable that the labouring forces divide. While there is practical unanimity on the question of an eight-hour day, there is no uniform scale of wages that it is proposed to enforce in the interests of all classes of labour. Each craft makes its own scale, yet it must not be denied that the wages of one class affect powerfully the wages of another class, not alone in those trades which are intimately allied, but in general by the effect of that imitation among men which demands that if the standard of living is raised for one group of workmen it must be raised also for another. The question of wages is more difficult than almost any other in connection with the labour problem, because the effect of increased wages does not seem to be uniform in all occupations. The cost of production is summed up in interest, superin-

tendence, and wages under the present industrial system. I assume that the present industrial system will continue for a long time, and at least so far as the present generation is concerned, the discussion of Utopian social organisation is not practical. Now, if wages be increased to the point where they absorb all the margin of profit, they must at least leave enough to pay for interest and superintendence, for if these are not paid, the business will become bankrupt and the wages will cease. There is, therefore, a necessary limit to wages in every occupation. The workman declares that he does not receive his fair share; that interest rates are too high; that superintendence costs too much; and that the profits of the business above normal interest, wages, and superintendence always go to capital. There is another way that wages can be increased, and practically it is the only way in which they will be increased, and that is by the increased price of the product. To put it concretely, take the building trades: If wages rise in the building trades, it is not the contractor who pays them unless they rise suddenly after he has made his contract, and then he has the future for his revenge upon the public. If wages in the building trades rise, it is an added item of cost,

and the people who build and own houses must pay the increased amount. That means, in the long run, that rents will rise, and most of the workingmen pay rent. If the shoemakers secure an increase of wages, it increases the price of shoes; the workingmen wear shoes. The same thing is true of every commodity. Increase the cost of production at any point, and you increase the price to the consumer. This opens the question as to what real wages are. Real wages, of course, cannot be measured in terms of money. A man may have \$4 per day under one set of conditions, and \$3 per day under another set of conditions, and if the \$3 per day has greater purchasing power than the \$4 per day, he receives the largest wages when he has \$3 per day. The situation must be clearly recognised. If wages rise in a particular craft and do not rise generally, that craft will profit, but it is impossible on account of the social solidarity of the industrial world that wages should permanently rise in one craft and not rise relatively in others. Increase of wages means an increased cost of production, and the increased cost of production must, in the long run, be paid by the consumer, or else production will cease.

It is better for society that there should be a general distribution of wealth. It is in the enrichment of human life every way that the workingman should receive an adequate reward for his toil, but it must be recognised that under the present conditions there are natural limits to the increase of wages.

These considerations, however, do not state with any exactness the present nature of the problem. The employer has been for generations in the habit of fixing wages. He says to a man: "I will pay so much per day," and the man may either take the job or leave it. The labour unions purpose to reverse all this. They say: "We will fix the scale of wages. No man in our union shall work for you at less than the minimum wage prescribed by our rules." Wage earners propose to act in groups, and to be free, as Mr. Guiney puts it, to bargain for the sale of their labour on the collective principle.

When the president of Yale University, some years ago, proposed publicity as a remedy for corporate evils, it was evident that the reception of the remedy by the public was not based upon a full conception of all its implications. Publicity is a more far-reaching thing than most people suppose.

Would it not be better for all parties concerned to be perfectly frank in regard to the situation? Should not the books of every corporation be open to the inspection of properly constituted authorities? There are not alone profits in conducting a business, but there are also losses. Would it not be better to take the representatives of labour into the confidence of their respective firms about this matter of profits and losses, so that they would have a basis for determining the amount of the wages that would be at least roughly mathematical, instead of acting by the compulsive power of organisation which may, of course, be carried to such limits as to bring ruin upon the industrial community? We are reaching a point in industrial life when the rigid individualism of the past is sure to be dissolved. The employer says: "This shop or factory is my business." The wage earner says with an articulative voice that quite startles those who have been in the habit of finding him dumb: "I am a necessary part of this business, and I propose to have a voice in its affairs." Meantime, the public at large has interest in that business also, for it is the public which is the final cause for the existence of the business, and, as a matter of fact, there are three

parties that must ultimately be considered—the employer, the employed, and the public. The rigid individualism of which I have spoken rebels at the idea of the workmen making a scale of wages. The employer proposes to do that himself. He rebels still more at public authority to disclose the nature of his business and the amount of his profit or loss. He says such a method would destroy competition, rob prudence and skill of their natural rewards, and is really another name for socialism; but examination of national banks, the publication of their statements, does not prevent financial business going forward. It certainly does not make the bank clerks more insistent and obtrusive than other classes of employees, and it is regarded by the public as a highly useful function of government. If labour continues to show an increasing genius for organisation, and does as much in that direction in the next twenty-five years as in the past twenty-five years, there will be nothing left for the employer to do for his own protection but to appeal to his books. There is a sense of justice deep in the hearts of men, and interest and superintendence will continue to be paid. The employer will still have a fair reward for his labour and his risks, nor will

he be compelled to bear the common loss himself. If the workmen enjoy a rapid increase of wages in times of prosperity, they must also suffer a reduction of wages in times of adversity. This introduces a critical element into the problem. The workingman is prepared to spend the surplus, but he is not always prepared to bear the loss. The employer may have credit enough to tide him over six months or a year of bad business, but the workingman, who is in the habit of consuming all or nearly all of his wages, has little reserve. A reserve must be created, either through the funds of the labour unions or, what will probably be better still, through some system of sinking fund or insurance that will make the fat years feed the lean years.

In order to enforce his demands for a shorter day and a larger wage, the workingman wants the closed shop. This, of course, is one of the burning questions of the present hour in certain occupations, and it has in it the elements of combustion for all occupations in every time of struggle. The reason the workingman wants the closed shop is not far to seek. It gives him control of the situation. If employers agree that no one shall be engaged to work in any occupation who is not satisfactory to

the labour unions, the labour unions can thus dictate terms both of time and of money. This seems intolerable to the employer, who says, "I am not permitted to control my own business; the rules for the management of my business are laid down by people who have not put a dollar into it, and they are prescribed by men who do not even belong to my own working force." The constitution of the United States has been invoked in the interests of freedom for the employer to engage and for the non-union man to work on such terms as they may mutually agree. The employer magnanimously says, "I have no objection to the labour union; it is an excellent thing very likely for a man to belong to it, but I do not propose to recognise union or non-union men in my business. I certainly will not discriminate against the union man, but neither will I discriminate against anyone else. I will employ the man who can do the work I want done, and I intend to be my own judge of his fitness for the task." All this sounds highly reasonable, and until one has thought about it, it would seem as though there could be no argument upon the other side, and yet the labour union is without doubt fighting for its life when it demands the closed shop. It is not simply a question

of whether an employer shall have liberty to employ whom he will; for the workingman it is a question as to whether his labour union has any reason longer to exist. Unless the labour union includes the men engaged in the craft, or at least so many of them as shall form a necessary part of the labour without which the business cannot be carried on, it is powerless. The attitude of the labour union is perfectly defensible when it says: "If you employ non-union men, we will not work for you." The labour union involves a burden. It takes some time and it costs some money. Unless it has practical advantages in business, it can no longer exist. If the non-union man can get along quite as well as the union man, and indeed has a little more sympathy and interest with the employer because he is a non-union man, the unions must cease to exist. If the union ceases to exist, labour is once again to be dealt with as individuals, who may be subdued one by one. Were I in the ranks of organised labour, I should certainly do my very best to secure the closed shop, nor would I be seduced by offers of a short day or of higher wages to consent to the open shop, for such is human nature that as soon as the open shop is established as a recognised right of the em-

ployer, it will also be seen to be a bulwark for the employer, and an ally for his purpose if he desires to be a tyrant. Nor does the closed shop give the workingman the enormous advantage that is sometimes supposed. It only puts him in a position to treat with the employer for the terms upon which they shall labour together. A labour union by extravagant demands may easily wreck a business, but no labour union, however powerful, can permanently secure either higher wages or a shorter day's work than the business can afford to give.

The doctrine of the closed shop is often carried much further. The labour unions claim the right to persuade those who are not union men to refuse to work for an employer with whom they have a controversy. The right of public or private discussion that is not seditious is certainly guaranteed by free institutions. The labour unions have the greatest interest in the world to seek to make it impossible to carry on business without them. They, therefore, have the right to use every lawful means in their power to make it impossible for men to be secured to fill their places. The closed shop is as vital to organised labour as it is repugnant to the feelings of the employer.

The union men understand perfectly well that the closed shop is essential to all their plans and hopes. If they are only to have the same rights as men who are not organised, the very basis of the organisation is destroyed. This fact is just as well understood by the employers as it is by the workingmen. Mr. J. Kirby, Jr., in an address delivered before the National Association of Manufacturers at New Orleans in 1903, on the attitude of associations of employers toward labour unions, argues for the open shop in order to kill the unions, and urges united action on the part of all employers of labour toward that end. He says:

“But what are we going to do about it? That is the question which most concerns us all. Do we have to submit to its dictations? Must we bow our heads and hold up our hands in recognition of its dignity and might? Must we surrender our citizenship on the order of the business agent or walking delegate of a labour union, and conduct our business only in such manner as he may choose to dictate? Would we, as a nation, tolerate such imposition from any other country?

“No, we would not. We would sacrifice our lives and the lives of our sons, our time and our money, in destroying or attempting to destroy an

enemy who would dare to inflict upon us as a nation the wrongs and oppressions which organised labour everywhere is daily heaping upon us as individuals. Where, then, is the remedy, for remedy must come from some source. My conclusions are that the only remedy will be found in thorough organisation of employers whose cardinal principles shall be to protect and encourage the wage earner in the exercise of his right to sell his labour to whom he pleases, and at what price he pleases, and to protect the industrious workman in his right to take advantage of the opportunities which fall in his way, and which right he must needs surrender the moment he is enrolled as a member of a labour union."

It is easy to see that the issue is joined, and that both parties to the controversy understand perfectly well what they are talking about, and whichever wins in this battle, wins the whole fight, and can control the situation just so far as it is subject to human action. It must be pointed out, however, that this is always subordinate to the economic structure of society taken as a whole.

It is urged that the closed shop is an injustice to non-union labour. The fact is, this is a rough-

and-tumble fight, and the tramp of the hosts cannot be stopped by obstacles which appeal purely to sentiment. It must be bluntly admitted that the non-union man will suffer in case the unions succeed in their purpose. He will be kept out of employment; his only recourse will be to make terms with the union on his side, just as the employer will be compelled to treat with the union upon his side. The victory for the union is quite as much a victory against unorganised labour as it is against the organisation of the employers. There are just two points to be considered in mitigation of the apparent damage done. The first is, that if the union is not profitable to those who belong to it, it must certainly fail; but if it is profitable to its members, it will also be profitable to the non-union men, and the doors are swinging open for them to enter. If it be said that there are workmen who are so individualistic that they would never consent to join a union, it must be replied that such individualism, even if it be a virtue, must wear its martyr's crown. In the organisation of society men cannot choose to stand alone in order to enjoy the freedom of their solitude and at the same time expect to have the advantages that can only come from co-operation. It

may further be added that the success of organised labour will raise the condition of the workingman to as high a point of comfort as can be secured under the existing economic conditions. There would seem to be no reasonable doubt that such a state of affairs will be for the benefit of society as a whole. It will enlarge the range of consumption, it will multiply human wants, it will, therefore, increase production, and at the same time create a larger demand for labour. In the long run, it will be impossible for the organised section of labour to succeed without at the same time improving the conditions of all labour, though it may freely be granted that that is not the purpose of the men engaged in fashioning and guiding organisation.

IV

SECONDARY DEMANDS OF LABOUR

Unorganised Labour—Woman and Labour—
Public Sanitation—The Personal Touch—Child
Labour Problem—The Industrial Democracy.

IN one of the letters it is to be noted that a plea is made in the interest of the unskilled workman without a union, without an advocate, and without defence. For manifest reasons, forms of labour which require little or no preparation for a successful toil cannot easily become organised labour. This not alone applies to the ordinary hewer of wood and drawer of water, the digger of ditches and the performer of menial tasks, but certain occupations which are regarded as desirable ones are also difficult to organise. Clerks in stores, workmen in wholesale houses, have shown scarcely more skill or capacity for organisation than have the day labourers. Women in factories and women in domestic service have also shown little capacity for labour organisation. It may seem that indirectly the success of organised labour is to the advantage of all, but practically this con-

clusion is to be doubted. Where organised labour receives a large compensation, it is natural that the burden of production, always interested in cheapness, should bear heavily upon that portion of labour in any enterprise which is unorganised. Relatively, it may easily be shown that unorganised labour has suffered in the matter of compensation. Those handicrafts which require comparatively little skill, such for example as house painting or paper hanging, have never been as successful in organising as those requiring greater skill. The attitude of organised labour toward those various classes is, on the whole, benevolent, but it must not be overlooked that there is another class of unorganised labour with which the labour unions must, in the very nature of the case, wage relentless war. That is with the men who are skilled in some of the crafts which are largely organised, and who prefer to remain outside of the union. It is obvious that the interests of these two parties clash so completely that any mode of life together is practically impossible. Finally, the unions must either include all the workmen of the craft who are permitted to work, or the unions must be dissolved. This is as irrepressible as the portentous conflict between the North and

South fifty years ago. It seems very strange that it is not universally recognised.

The problem of women in labour is by no means a settled question. Many labour leaders believe that the increasing presence of women in competition with men in the various industries has been an evil to both sexes. The doctrine of the economic freedom of woman and her right to engage in any and every occupation is not a sex question nor a social question, but it is a profound economic question. In those countries where women and children work with the least question and with the most approval, the wages are reduced to such a point that it requires the combined labour of all the working members of the family to support the family. The general effect of woman in labour has been to lower wages among men, and particularly in those employments that are not affected by labour organisation, but it is not possible in this place to give any adequate discussion of the question of women in labour, and yet it is a question that must be discussed more and more in time to come.

A number of laws have been passed in various States to protect women. In some States they are forbidden employment in certain difficult and

dangerous occupations. In a very few States there are laws forbidding their employment in night work. Women have shown little capacity for organisation, and they have very little protection. It is not alone the interest of the individual woman that is at stake, but it is the future of the nation that is wrapped up in her future. Overworked and underfed men constitute a menace, but overworked and underfed women are a moral peril and a physical disaster.

The workingmen demand public sanitation and better homes in the interests of the labouring class. There has been a great awakening of the public conscience in England and in Germany, and in some parts of the United States, with reference to the tenement-house question. This is a problem that is not severely felt in the smaller towns. For convenience the workingman must live near his work. It is not easy, when the best efforts are used, to make life sweet and gracious in the neighbourhood of shops and factories. Park systems, sewers, the water supply and street cleaning, are frequently carried on in cities largely in the interests of the wealthier classes. There is probably not a city in the country where what is known as the poorer quarters have anything like the

attention of the municipal authorities that is bestowed upon the neighbourhoods inhabited by the well-to-do. This is partly because the people have not been awakened as to their proper rights, and it is partly because society has not been quickened to see its manifest duties. A vigilant health department with ample power is the only safeguard for the plain people. The death rate which is averaged by cities as so many per thousand is terribly unequal between the wards of the same city. This, of course, is partly due to lack of knowledge in the care of health, lack of wisdom in the choice and preparation of foods, and to the ignorance of the various means for the preservation of human life, but there is a considerable part of the sickness and mortality in tenement-house districts which is directly chargeable upon the public.

There is a tone of bitterness in the statement that workingmen "want employers to be christians seven days in the week, and to carry their Christianity into their everyday lives." This bitterness is accented when employers who are known to be severe, and sometimes penurious with their workmen, are still greatly interested in educational and philanthropic enterprises to which they give large sums of money. There is something pathetic

also in the demand on the part of workingmen for the human touch. They ask for the kind heart, the neighbourly recognition, the outstretched hand. It may be frankly said that in all large enterprises this is very difficult to give. Time was when most production was carried on in very small groups of men, one of whom was the employer, who laboured side by side with the men to whom he paid wages. Fraternal relations existed between these men whose financial conditions were not very far apart, but in the days of consolidation, of organisation, of immense capital, of huge enterprises, where thousands of men are employed under one management, the old relations are no longer possible. There are heads of departments who may know casually the most of the men under their immediate charge, but the great superintendents of labour know only the heads of departments. It is through them that they receive reports and gain their knowledge of conditions. There is probably scarcely any class of men who know so little about the actual lives of the working class as the great employers of labour. These men have their wives and children; they have their little homes, and they have the same loves, the same needs, the same hopes and fears, as the great captains of industry,

but to the captains of industry they are not personal existences at all. They know nothing of the heartaches, the ambitions, the temptations of the multitude of men who are a part of the great mechanism which furnishes their power. Some great enterprises have organised various social schemes for the betterment of the employees. Sometimes employers have been disappointed because these things have not been received in the spirit in which they have been given. The workmen are often suspicious. Like the Trojans, they fear the Greeks bearing gifts. If the employers have money to spare for the workmen, they prefer to receive that extra money in the shape of increased wages. They prefer to spend the money themselves. There is scarcely anything that American workmen dissent from so much as from the various efforts to treat them as a proper object of philanthropy. Over and over again the workman says, "What we want is justice." This does not mean that he does not welcome every form of assistance from the social body toward giving him external conditions of life that are favourable for the health of himself and his family. It does not mean that he is not willing and eager to partake in public bounties of education, museums, and art

collections which are established freely for the entire community. What he resents is such treatment as seeks to establish a class position for him and class favours from those who are supposed to be above him.

One of the most insistent demands of labour is for the protection of children. The first law for the protection of children was passed in England in 1802, and it would seem that the battle ought to have been won by this time. In all the States of the Union except three there are laws for the protection of children. The laws vary very much, but in substance they aim to secure an opportunity for a common-school education for every child, and to prevent his employment under fourteen years of age. Many of the States forbid their employment at night work. Some people suppose that the campaign on behalf of the children is over, and that the battle is won.

Meantime, of the labourers employed in the United States to-day two millions are children under sixteen years of age. It is evident that if these two millions of children were eliminated from the labour supply there would not be a man fitted for work who would not find his opportunity. This is the grotesque thing that history will have

to say about our generation: "These queer people overworked those who were employed, and used their little children to produce commodity for the benefit of the social group, while an ever-continuing multitude of those who might have worked were left out of work on these two grounds." Our generation revolts at piracy, at slavery, at duelling, and other evils of the past, but the conditions of child labour are so much worse than any or all three of these evils combined that it seems remarkable that public intelligence is so lacking and public conscience so weak. Careful study of the character and condition of many of the unemployed, who seem unfit for employment, either by lack of energy or lack of strength, reveals that a considerable percentage of these derelicts on the sea of life were those who were themselves overworked in childhood. Recently there have been many studies in England of the degeneration of the physical type. The Boer War revealed that large numbers of those who offered for enlistment did not meet the requirements of the physical standard. It was actually necessary to reduce the standard in the army to fill the ranks, and the depleted physiques sent to Africa were not so much the prey of Dutch bullets as they were of African

disease. We may be instructed by the conditions in England. During the last 150 years England has been changed from an agricultural country to a people largely living in cities. Farms have become parks, and farm labourers and their descendants, herded in tenement houses, live in the squalor of city slums. The result has been that the descendants of the sturdy men who made the Anglo-Saxon name a glory the world around are being reduced to the physical level of the Latin races. America may well heed the lesson. One hundred years ago three per cent. of our people lived in cities; now thirty per cent. live in cities, and to-morrow it will be sixty per cent.

One reason why many of our leaders do not feel the importance of the problem of child labour is because they themselves came from the farm where they were accustomed to work as children, but they had the free breezes of heaven, they had the gleaming sunshine, and the singing of birds, and in the variety of work, above all, they had the development of personal initiative. Besides, there were long periods of the year when work was practically suspended, and after toil they had an abundance of the joy of life. City labour is entirely different. The child fastened to a machine by the daily

routine of his work is simply numbed into an animate part of the business. His work calls for no thought; his mind has no expansion; he toils in physical weariness until another day comes to make still further inroads upon the possible man. Wicked as is the effect upon the boy, it is still more alarming in the case of the girl. The possible wife and mother has the reserved vitality of her womanhood stolen from her before that womanhood has dawned. It is the pledge of degeneration for the race in the next generation. Notwithstanding the laws, in coal mines and in cotton mills, North and South, the life blood of the race is being offered upon the altars of greed. Nor is it due alone to the rapacity of employers. It is quite as much due to the ignorance and the folly of parents. Where certificates are required by law for the age and schooling of the child, parents who wish their work and the pittance which it brings deliberately falsify both the age of the child and the time he has spent in school. Children need to be protected from their own flesh and blood. A large element in making of artificial flowers is that of children from four to twelve years of age in the homes of working women. I never look upon a woman's bonnet without won-

dering what limp and tired child's fingers may have helped to fashion that beauty. It is astonishing how slow some of these reforms are. It took twenty-five years in England to limit the labour of a child of nine years to sixty-nine hours a week. It will probably take twenty-five years longer to win the campaign against child labour in the United States.

Child labour is the enemy of personal and public health. It prevents that degree of education that will make the child available; it robs the child of the opportunity for normal human development. It adds a very small sum to the productive value of present labour, at the fearful cost of bankrupt human life and industrial incapacity in the next generation. Many people who have conscience about child labour in factories and are horrified to hear that children sit in clouds of dust and pick slate out of coal, think that street occupations of various kind are all right. We are frequently reminded of some eminent business man who started his life as a newsboy or bootblack. The physical dangers of street occupations are not nearly so great as those of the mine or the factory, but the moral dangers are very much more alarming. In cities where one-fourth of the children engaged

in labour are in street occupations, two-thirds of those children who are sent to the reform school come from these ranks; or, in other words, nearly three times as many children are sent to the reform schools from the street service as are sent from the factory service. The bright-eyed boy of ten has learned on the street corner practically all the wickedness that there is to know. Boys in the messenger service are sent to all sorts of places of infamy, and it is evident that the street boys need protection more than any other class.

The final argument in behalf of child labour is always the poor mother or sick father whom the child may support if permitted to work. No one believes in the self-support of the poor more than I do, and no agency more than the associated charities has emphasised that need, but look at the question just as it is. If the family were hungry the community would be tremendously shocked and outraged to hear that they had killed one of the tender children to supply food for the rest. It is even more shocking, though we do not feel it so, when the child is consumed, soul and body, in doing work from which he should have been saved because it prevents his development and ruins his future. One child in a hundred may

come through all these difficulties because he has an exceptional constitution, or by happy circumstances develops an exceptional character, but the success of these rare cases only emphasises the common disasters which fall upon the rest. It is a shame for society to shift the burden of charity which it ought to bear in the case of the poor widow with a family of children under sixteen years of age, to the breaking backs of those poor children to the ruin of their lives.

We have gone far enough on the road to wealth and power to linger a little by the way and take time for a more careful study of the whole situation. These workingmen may be often mistaken; they may be often wrong-headed, but they are still fellowmen, and they are hungering for the human touch. Any business that will cultivate the human relation, that will feel and exhibit real sympathy with the men who are employed, and that assumes a fair share of responsibility for the success or failure of their whole scheme of life, will go far toward securing a loyalty which is so much desired and which is not easily found. The labour giant is awakened. He has thrown off the shackles of the past, and doubtless he has with the shackles oftentimes broken lawful restraints.

It is useless to seek to find by craft or convention new shackles. The giant can never be bound again. A working basis must be sought and discovered on the terms of equity to all parties. The employer wishes his workingmen to be sober, industrious, and faithful, but these qualities involve self-control, and that is only the result of high character. If employers want to see signs of soul in the workingmen, it is not enough for them to put their strength and their shrewdness into business; they must put their heart into business as well, nor must the employers be too anxious for the success of their business; they must be even more anxious for the success of society and the development of a sane and well-ordered community, and it will be found that not even justice is enough; there must also be the spirit of fraternity.

It was once thought that a political democracy would solve the evils of the world. For one hundred years the American people laboured under that delusion. It is now seen that a political democracy that is not based upon justice and good-faith may easily become another form of despotism. We have done well in securing the structure of a government with political institutions adapted to our common life, but this is not enough.

Corporation lawyers boast that there can be no laws made in the interests of the public which the shrewd counsellor cannot circumvent by ingenuity of new organisation and fresh applications of power guided by craft. The industrial democracy must supplement the political democracy. It cannot be wholly done by written laws. Men in high places must feel a high sense of responsibility. The obligation of strength and of wisdom, the obligation of wealth and of power, is measured alone by their extent, nor must it be forgotten by the great employers of labour, many of whom boast that they themselves have come up from the ranks, that conditions are very different to-day from what they were forty years ago. This is not the time nor the place to discuss the constituents of great wealth, but it may be pointed out that the natural resources in field and mine and forest have largely been taken possession of by the few, without money and without price. Other men have grown great through franchises and privileges which have given them borrowing power really belonging not to them, but to the whole people. The capital that was adequate for an independent enterprise some years ago is wholly inadequate to-day. Ordinary thrift has no such opportunity as

it once had. The times have changed. Because of this some urge the claims of socialism. I am not of that number. Socialism promises the glory of mediocrity, the weakening of great effort, and the arrest of human progress. It may be tried as an experiment, but upon the ruins of that experiment a new individualistic order will no doubt arise. It would be wise to avoid this experiment, but it can only be avoided by such economical and social conditions as shall guarantee fair play to the average man, and such a measure of the joy of life as shall make him interested in social institutions. No condition of social order can ever be stable unless it is recognised by the large majority of the people as the safeguard of their interests. If men are to love the flag, it must float before their eyes as the symbol of liberty and justice; if they are to be loyal to the government, it must be because it affords them adequate protection. The times are full of solemn warning. The virtues of truthfulness and honesty have gone beyond ethics; they are the part of common prudence. This is no time for Nero to prepare to play his fiddle; the music will die in the discordant wrath of an aroused people.

V

LETTERS FROM EMPLOYERS

Preliminary Statement—Importance of the Writers—Business Interests Uppermost.

ALL the letters from the employers of labour are presented without signature. The writers, however, are quite as representative of their class as are the writers of the labour letters. Three of them are at the head of very large railway systems, five of them represent the largest manufacturing concerns of their kind in the country, and the rest of them represent very important interests. On looking into the matter when the letters were received, I discovered that decidedly the majority of these writers came up from the ranks of labour themselves, and some of them from the lowest ranks. The men who represent this class have, on the whole, written letters with the least colour of sympathy with workingmen. The problem seems to lie in their minds thus: "If I have fought my way up, other men can do the same if they are willing to pay the price." These writers, equally with the labour leaders, have given us their upper-

most thoughts, and by that token for our purposes they have given us their most valuable thoughts. One chief thing to be noted is that the business interests are practically the only interests which the employers recognise. There is no evidence at all that the social question, as a broad problem of how the human family can live together upon the best terms and for the best purposes, has been considered at all. There is not a word upon the subject of better education; there is scarcely an ethical note in the letters, if we except the objection to the use of brute force, and even that note is not strictly ethical. On the other hand, there is in several of the letters a definite note of open-mindedness, as though the writers had a conviction that the last word has not been spoken upon the relation of employer and employed. It is obvious that it is more to the interest of the employer even than of the employed that the statements should be unsigned, but the reader may be sure that these writers are so representative that we have a picture of the composite mind of the present-day employer.

THE LETTERS

“If we could pick the kind of work people we would like, they would be in no respect different

from those we have. It takes all kinds of people to make a world, and it is the duty of the employer, by proper selection and organisation, to utilise to the best advantage the capacities and dispositions of the people seeking employment from him. It is his duty to pay wages varying according to the productive ability of the individual, but sufficient to afford the means of subsistence to the least capable. It is his duty not only to deal fairly and justly with his employees, but to promote their interests to the best of his ability consistent with the conditions governing the business. When the employer thus endeavours to handle his men, there is nothing the matter with them, and he will find that they respond with intelligence, loyalty, and increased productive capacity."

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"I cannot address myself as fully to the subject as I would like, for it is one of very great importance, and one that has its rights and its wrongs. However, from many years of experience in employing labour, I have had some interesting experiences which have left indelible impressions upon my mind.

"The relations between capital and labour, or, more correctly, between the employer and the

employed, are not what they should be. Each is absolutely dependent upon the other, and their relations should be amicable, and if possible harmonious. That combinations of capital exist, and that such combinations oftentimes are oppressive to labour, cannot be denied; therefore, any fair-minded person with a proper sense of justice will not contend that it is not reasonable for labour to combine for self-protection, and for its general good. It is this spirit that has resulted in a multiplicity of labour unions throughout the length and breadth of the land, and yet it must be denied that such unions have, as a whole, resulted in elevating the cause of labour. That the unions have secured valuable concessions, oftentimes just concessions, cannot be denied, and if these unions were conducted properly and lawfully, there would be little to criticise in them, but, unfortunately, the great majority of them teach socialism and anarchism. This is largely due to the false teachings of their leaders, who foment discontent, and who precipitate unjust and unreasonable strikes, based on fancied grievances, oftentimes without the faintest cause, and to carry their strikes to victorious conclusions, commit unlawful acts of riot, bloodshed, and murder.

“The labour leaders must inaugurate labour wars to demonstrate their personal necessity to the organisations that support them. Without contentions between the employers and their labourers there would be no need of their services.

“If all of the labour unions were conducted on the high moral and business methods of the Brotherhood of Railway Engineers, there would be nothing to criticise. There is no class of labour so exalted or so free from contentions with its employers or so steadily employed as the railway engineers of the United States, and this is accounted for on the sound principle that while thoroughly organised for self-protection, it is governed wisely and actuated by a due sense of right. When the Locomotive Engineers make a demand, it has a basis of justice, and it instantly commands the respect of not only the employers, but of the country at large, and it usually succeeds *because it should succeed*.

“This country is engaged, under the leadership of the peerless Roosevelt, in a crusade against trusts and unlawful combinations to restrict trade, and this is usually construed to mean certain great corporations that have crushed out competition, and have become absolute monopolists, and are,

in a general way, robbing the people. Well, God speed the day when all such unlawful combinations shall be brought to a strict accounting, but let us not lose sight of the fact that the greatest evil of the day, and the greatest combinations in restriction of trade and commerce, in a word, the greatest of the great trusts of the country, is the *labour trust* as fostered by the labour unions.

“The unions, with few exceptions, have not exalted labour. They have secured concessions, some of which were right, and some wrong, but there has been a lack of justice as the basis of their action, and much brutality in the enforcement.

“‘What I want’ is that the unions shall reorganise on the general plan of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; that they shall enforce their just demands in a peaceful and law-abiding way; that if necessary to secure rights denied them, they be accorded the right to quit work in a body, but that they shall cease their habit of attacking others who are willing to accept the work which they have abandoned, and that they shall also cease their wanton destruction of the property of their employers who will not concede their demands. The labouring people, notably members of unions, have cultivated the idea that because their labour has,

in a measure, helped to build up certain great enterprises, they have acquired by right an absolute property interest in such concerns. This theory is the rankest of socialism, bordering on anarchism. They have no such property interest, and such wild theories are the vagaries of 'a mind diseased.' They are entitled to much consideration as old and worthy employees, and any other consideration which the employer may concede willingly, but nothing more.

"One of the greatest of existing evils, the result of unionism and its arbitrary teachings, is that men employed by the day or by the hour refuse to do any act which may be demanded by the employer if it is not strictly of the nature of the work for which he claims to be employed. If a sheet-iron worker is employed, his labours must be confined to that, no matter whether his master's interests require that he temporarily help at something else or not.

"Under the union system a scale of wages is adopted, generally based upon competency, but incompetent men, knowing just enough of the work to pass muster, are set to work under it at full pay, and unless guilty of some misdemeanour, the employer cannot dismiss them without bringing on

a general strike. The whole union force is invoked to compel the employer to keep undesirable and incompetent men. This is absolutely dishonest. I want the system corrected.

"In closing I may reiterate that what is wanted by the employer is liberty to employ his labour in the labour market without interference. Also the further right to discharge any man for incompetency, intemperance, or lack of fidelity to duty, and the further right to employ union and non-union labour at will, and without prejudice to his business, and last, but not least, by any means, that labour unions shall cease their unlawful acts in the destruction of property and injury to persons who seek their positions after they have relinquished them."

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"What enlightened employers want to-day is nothing more nor less than 'the square deal.' This involves protection in their constitutional rights to employ any person who is willing to work for them on such terms and conditions and for such periods of time as may be mutually agreeable, without interference from third parties. It is opposed to the labour union claims of special privileges before the law, including the closed shop, the boy-

cott, and the right (through immunity from legal processes applicable to all other classes of society), to coerce physically or otherwise non-union workmen and employers of non-union workmen.

“The better class of employers also wish the unrestricted opportunity to bind their workmen to their own establishment by ties of mutual interests, through fair and liberal treatment, and by extending, the old-fashioned inducements for skilful, industrious, and faithful service. All this is distasteful to the union leaders. They are opposed to individual concessions made by employers, and would like to have workingmen dependent on union methods for all their advancement. They are most hostile to the natural condition of reciprocity between the liberal employer and the fair-minded employee. They much prefer the tyrannical, exacting employer, as tending to force the workmen into the union. A State factory inspector in one of the Eastern States told me several years ago that he had been surprised to find that the large majority of employers were not only willing to meet the requirements of the labour laws, but were anxious to do what they could for the welfare of their employees. All of this so-called ‘betterment’ work is obnoxious to the labour union.

“Labour unions in the past have rendered incalculable service in giving workmen for the first time a voice in the industrial world. They are now doing incalculable harm to society in consequence of the new ideas and ambitions which have been imported from Europe and developed of late years. Many of the unions to-day are managed and exploited by unscrupulous grafters, working for their own selfish, personal ends. Their methods, too, often show total disregard of the rights of others and of the decencies of life. The current newspapers are full of examples of this, and nearly everybody can supply illustrations from his own personal experience. The many outrages committed on non-union men, including the most brutal murders, are seldom denounced, or even deplored in union circles. Even the universal calamity in San Francisco has been to the unions merely an opportunity to tighten their hold on the body politic and squeeze the last drop of blood from the public. San Francisco and Butte, Montana, are the two cities of the United States where the labour unions have had an opportunity to demonstrate the conditions which the union leaders would like to establish throughout the country.

“The figure of speech which represents the rela-

tion between labour and capital as one of warfare, with all that is involved in that terrible word, has done more than anything else to poison the thought and embitter the feeling of the American people on this subject, yet that simile is almost universally used in the labour union publications. The desire and purpose of the unions is toward the reduction of all labour to the level of the least competent and least fit, and the entire elimination of the time-honoured motives of skill, industry, and thrift, through which our civilisation has been built up.

“ To bring the unions back to their proper relation to society they should be made amenable to the laws and responsible for their actions. Their development should be along the lines indicated by Prof. Lawrence Laughlin in his article published last year in *Scribner's Magazine*. Membership in a union should be a guaranty of good workmanship with no restriction of output. When these reforms are accomplished, the unions will still, on the American basis of the open shop, serve their great purpose of protecting the workmen from the exactions of unscrupulous employers. At the same time, it will be possible for them to co-operate with the great mass of well-meaning employers who desire to improve the conditions of

labour in every practicable way. In general, I believe that the benefits of invention, of concentration, of improved methods of manufacture and distribution,—all the blessings of prosperity, will be largely diffused through the gradual shortening of the hours of labour, and the gradual cheapening of the products to the consumer.”

“ Workingmen, as a whole, in the United States, are the most intelligent men in the world, and the best used and best paid, and live better than any other labouring people in the world.

“ Speaking of them as organised labour only: What they need where they are organised is to be handled by wise, conservative, and honest men; if they fill their offices with such men, they will have very little trouble, but, I am sorry to say, they do not, and are too often governed by irresponsible men—men who have nothing at stake further than to draw on the treasury of the different labour organisations. Organised labour has done much to bring better conditions to the labouring man, which, in my opinion, would never have been brought about had it not been for the labour organisations, and the way they have been handled; they are entitled to a great deal of credit, but some

of them are very badly handled, and there is a great deal of improvement which will come about in time.

“‘What do the Employers Want?’ They want nothing but an honest day’s work and fair treatment from the workingmen. When they make contracts, they want the workingman to carry out his contract, which some organisations do not do. The employer has paid, and is paying to-day, a greater advance in the wages than has ever been known in the lives of the workingmen, consequently the workingman is better off to-day than ever before, and was never as uneasy as he is to-day.

“The floating population of labouring men, of which this country has a great many, requires only a small amount to live on; for instance, they take \$30 per month to pay their expenses. When they are getting a dollar per day they will work full time; as it is to-day, they are receiving \$2 per day, consequently they will work only one-half the time; they loaf the balance, and disarrange all kinds of business and spend their time in dissipation. It is a pleasure for the employer to treat all his employees fairly, and see them prosper, if they will only give an honest day’s work in return and not spend their time in idleness and dissipation.”

“Replying to your favour of the 28th ult., I have to say that in a general way we have no fault to find with the labour conditions as existing in our works. We concede to our men the right to have the privilege of selling their products at the highest possible price. Our sole exception to the union rules as applied to our business arises from the fact that the men do not confine their efforts to betterment of hours, wages, and working conditions, but attempt to control other matters which are really no concern of theirs.

“We ask for loyalty and interest in our concern, industry and sobriety, and as we are generally satisfied with the way these things are rendered us, we are not in a position to pass any severe criticism on existing conditions.”

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“I have no hesitation in saying to you that I think it is just as fair for the labouring men to organise and have their union as it is for the capitalists, and a great many prominent employers of labour think in a great many respects it is easier to get along with the men, dealing with a committee of three or five, than dealing with each man individually. In that way they fix up a scale of wages for which the men are to work for a period

of one to three years, and have very little trouble. I believe the unions, on the whole, have been a great benefit to the labouring men. On the other hand, they hurt themselves very materially when they violate their contract and go on sympathetic strikes because some other union is in trouble. If they do not keep their agreement, they have no right to complain because their employers do not keep theirs.

“There are certain underlying rules and principles which they must live up to if they want the sympathy and respect of right-thinking men. When they make an agreement, they must stand by it until it has expired, and when they go on a strike, it should be a decent, orderly, respectable and peaceful strike. This country will not tolerate violence on the part of the men—they must obey the law and respect the rights of others, and their property, or they will never succeed. This pounding a man because he does not join the union, insulting his family, smashing in windows, and actions of that kind, only hurt the labouring men’s union, and if persisted in, are going to be very disastrous to their best interests, and cause the loss of a great many lives.

“Another mistake that I think the labour unions

make is in allowing themselves to be manipulated for political purposes. I think they will be much stronger and carry much more weight if they do not affiliate themselves with any political party, nor approve of any particular ticket, nor get up any particular party for themselves. They can then endorse some particular candidate, and by throwing their votes for him, accomplish much more."

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"My experience with labour troubles is that the great majority of the men who organise and belong to the unions have very little to say as to what they want to do. I am certain men who belong to labour unions attend meetings to a very small extent. A few restless spirits attend the meetings and legislate for the others, and the average man, through negligence, indifference, or timidity, fails to express his opinion. The result is that the majority's opinion is not expressed when a demand is made and strikes occur. It is very seldom, indeed, that the majority of organised labourers desire to strike. I have had scores of men tell me in times of strikes that it was never their intention that there should be one, and many of them expressed themselves as not desiring to belong to the

union, but they feel compelled to do so on account of the pressure brought to bear upon them by others. I think the labour organisations could do very much to improve the conditions if greater numbers would attend their meetings, and be allowed to fairly express their wishes. The greatest complaint I have is that a large majority allow themselves to be led into foolish difficulties. The above is one answer to your question, 'What do the employers want?'

"Another thing employers want is to be absolutely left without hindrance to carry on their manufacturing plants to the best of their ability. They cannot allow organised labour to say how things shall be done, or who shall do them, or how much shall be done in a day. An employer must be allowed freedom to hire whomsoever he sees fit, and there seems no reason why any man should not be allowed to work for another man if both parties agree. I often wish that the original conditions between the employer and employee could be absolutely re-established, and I think that eventually they will. From my early recollections of business (covering a period of thirty or forty years), absolute freedom existed between employer and employee, and it was always a matter of mutual agreement between the two on what basis they

should do business. I regret that in late years a third party has undertaken to step in and endeavour to dictate the terms between employer and employee.

“Another thing employers want is a proper interpretation of our statute laws. In this State the law distinctly forbids men to prevent other men from working at a factory if they desire to do so, and even goes so far as to forbid them to threaten, coerce, or intimidate in any manner in order to accomplish their purposes. Yet in every strike that occurs there is intimidation and violence. Our Supreme Court has rendered decisions that practically annul the law, and there is no possible way for an employer to be relieved from a crowd of striking employees forming at his gate or shop door, abusing, threatening, and intimidating in every manner men who wish to work. A lot of men can threaten and intimidate others from working in my shop, but if I try to prevent a man from getting employment in another shop, I am guilty of blacklisting, and am liable for it. Our judges are elected by the people, and my experience is that they are incapable of properly executing the laws we have, fearing they will lose the labour vote at the next election.

“Within the last two months I have repeatedly

had men arrested for committing violence, and have proven the cases to the satisfaction of a jury, but the judge on the bench, with the proof of unprovoked slugging in front of him, allowed the culprit to escape with a fine of \$25. A term of imprisonment would be the proper punishment for such a crime.

"The items that I want as an employer are as follows:

"1. If men desire to unionise, let them carry out their own wishes, and not be led by a few.

"2. Freedom of the employer to conduct his business to the best of his ability.

"3. A proper execution of our laws by our judges, without fear of the labour vote."

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"I think one of the most serious things confronting our country to-day is the growing tendency among all classes of labour to shift from place to place, and to do as little work as possible, instead of trying to do as much as they can to advance the interests of whatever may be the wage-paying power.

"I do not believe it is much of an exaggeration to say that to-day the so-called labourer does not accomplish in a working day nearly as much as

he did ten years ago. With the enormous amount of work confronting American labour, the constant cry for less hours and higher pay is one of the things that is going to check our advance and progress.

“Ten hours is not too much for a healthy man to work, and he ought to work hard and loyally for those who provide the money to carry on the business during those ten hours. The fact that the apparent spirit of many workingmen is against this idea is most unfortunate.”

“As employers of labour, all we ask is the privilege of employing whomever we wish, and at such rates of wages as are reasonable and just, according to conditions. We have been importuned to sign agreements whereunder we would agree to employ none but union men. We have never been ready to enter into arrangements of this character against the vast number of honest workingmen who do not belong to unions, who are largely in the majority, and have been boycotted, intimidated, dynamited, and burned out for failing to do so.”

“It is many years since I was a workingman,

and conditions have changed very much, but when I was a workingman I worked for the best interests of my employers, and did not spare my time nor labour to further their interests, and soon became an employer. Since that time conditions are changed, and yet I believe that industry, honesty of purpose, and doing all and more than you are asked to do will have its reward.

“Your second question is answered by me through my own experience, and may seem egotistical, but what the employer wants is men who will do their best, without considering remuneration until their capacity and ability have been fully proven. A man who only does as much as is necessary to prevent his discharge, is of no real value. One who is not willing to earn more than he gets will never succeed beyond the ordinary, but it is well known to all that first-class help is hard to get, and that such help does get recognition by employers. What an employer wants is results, and if results are given, then wages are increased accordingly. Many years of experience teach me that faithful performance of duty brings a reward in money, and also an ease of conscience that is worth much more than money.”

“In compliance with your request to specify

individual cases where I thought organised labour had overstepped what might properly be termed its just right, the following may be of interest:

“Several years ago the question of a new scale arose with a daily newspaper. The question of hours and wages was satisfactorily adjusted without any considerable degree of friction. When it came to the matter of conditions under which labour should be performed, the clause read: ‘And all proper conveniences for health and comfort shall be provided which shall be construed to mean the furnishing of heat in winter, ice-water in summer, towels and soap. In addition, cuspidors shall be furnished by the office for the use of tobacco-chewers, and they shall be cleaned at the expense of the office.’

“All except the latter clause was agreed to, and that I declined to consider, stating that we were willing to pay a premium on cleanliness, but not on filth. It was only after three weeks of fruitless discussion when it was announced that the union would never secure that clause, even if it brought an open office by refusal, that it was stricken out.

“That is one of the most arbitrary and unjustifiable stands I ever heard of being taken, especially by a body of men of such uniformly high intelligence as the Typographical Union.

“ Another case in point is at present under discussion: We are the official printers for the city. The council proceedings embody a part of the work we are awarded. The law further calls for a certain number of copies of all ordinances and council proceedings in book form. We do not do book-printing, but the bids must cover everything called for by the published call for bids. We made a contract to turn over the metal to another firm which bid in conjunction with us, they agreeing to pay us a certain sum for the type, and to return the metal to us after the printing. This office is an open one, and Typographical Union is carrying on a war against it. They notified us that any attempt to deliver this type would result in a strike at once. Our agreement provides for local arbitration and appeal to national arbitration before such steps can be taken, but in the face of this we were debarred from giving out the metal, have submitted a list of fifty local men who would have no individual interest in the decision, and have had the entire list rejected, and a list made up exclusively of union men submitted in its stead. Realising that no progress could be made on the line of arbitration, we suggested that all the work needful in the composing room be done by us by

printers in good standing in the union, and the forms delivered to the pressroom of the other corporation, which is also exclusively union. The Typographical Union refused to accede to this request, and the matter rests in that state, after seven months. In the meantime we are compelled to buy new material which is not needed, lumber up all our available space to carry three tons of set matter, and no conclusion in sight.

“One short-sighted phase of union legislation, to my mind, is this: When an exceptionally good man holds a position, he has been paid in excess of the scale provided for that position, but the publishers will not follow this course any further, as the next scale meeting brings with it a demand for the price which has been paid as a premium for ability. In this way really good men are held down to the scale, whereas, if no unfair advantage were taken of paying the better men more than his fellows, in many instances an increase would be paid.

“A business concern making an error must pay for the same. Not so with a union man. Regrets are the limit, even though all the work has to be done over again, or a penalty paid for the error, by the paper.

“Union regulations call for ‘priority’ in plac-

ing men in permanent positions, irrespective of comparative merit. This compels foremen in many cases to bar a man for incompetency who would otherwise be given work as an extra, but who was not considered eligible to be a regular.

“Discharges can only be made when a written cause is assigned. That is the law, though it is not very strictly lived up to. Verbal reasons are not sufficient.

“If two institutions owned by the same concern run the same advertisement and a matrix is furnished, the men must be paid for setting that same advertisement, even if it is thrown away the next minute. Only in extra emergencies is this rule waived, and the foreman and the father of the chapel—as the resident delegate is called—shall determine what constitutes emergency.

“The boast of the union that only skilled workmen can become members is not based on fact. There is no examination of any character, there is no rule which applies to make one eligible for membership in the Typographical Union. A stated period of apprenticeship is served, at the end of which time the apprentice becomes a journeyman.

“The good points about the union are many: I was manager of a paper once where discipline called for the discharge of the foreman. He was extremely popular with the men, and his discharge was the signal for all hands to quit. The executive committee of the union got together a crew of men, and themselves assisted until a permanent force was secured, so that no embarrassment resulted from the defection of the men. There was no discipline imposed upon the members, however, as it was conceded to be their privilege to quit whenever they saw fit.

“The union protects men from bilious foremen. A man’s temper should not be sufficient excuse for his taking the bread and butter out of another man’s mouth; it prevents imposition in the matter of hours and petty annoyances; it prevents a man from being called to work at unseemly hours, on Sundays, and legal holidays, without making the price so high that whims are prohibitive. On the other hand, I have never known of a union asking for increased pay on a holiday when employed by newspapers.

“Unions are responsible for every bit of legislation in the country which protects childhood, and womanhood, life and limb. Their methods at

times may seem high-handed, but it is a matter of self-preservation to refuse to work with the man who reaps all the benefits of their efforts and pays nothing toward keeping up their organisation. As a workman I should be a union man; as an employer, generally speaking, I believe the unions to be needful, and if their efforts are restricted to the disposal of their labour at the highest possible price, to the securing of short hours and pleasant environments, I'm with them. When they step over these legitimate bounds, in nine cases out of ten it is an individual with an aggressive personality who is to blame, not the laws and regulations of the union."

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"I beg to say that in my opinion the great prosperity of the country and the consequent heavy demand for labour, skilled and unskilled, has so reduced the available supply that wages of all employees have been very largely increased. This increase, and a reduction of the hours of labour, is a natural and unpreventable consequence of the conditions, and with these changes I believe reasonable employers have no fault to find. What they do feel to be wrong, however, is the tendency

of trades unions to insist upon the standardisation of a day's work, and upon promotion being governed by seniority rather than by merit. The result of these two demands is to lower the efficiency of the most capable man to the level of the lazy and indifferent one, and to remove from the ambitious man the best incentive to effort. With a standard day's work and a seniority rule in effect, the average employee's aim is to get through the day with as little exertion of mind and body as practicable, and he is no longer a faithful servant, but one who would rather see harm than good come to his employer.

"The good the Church can do is for its speakers to urge upon employers the right of the worker to fair wages, reasonable hours of work, and healthful conditions of employment, and upon employees the giving to employers of faithful and loyal service."

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"Briefly, what the employer wants is a fair day's work for a fair day's pay. Experience has taught him in many cases that this necessitates the 'open shop,' for with the 'closed shop' the management of the internal affairs of his work-

rooms is practically out of his hands and in the hands not even of his own employees, but of an organisation entirely outside and unfamiliar with the conditions of his particular business.

“Whether or not the closed shop is necessary or desirable in connection with very large enterprises, I do not undertake to say, but with what some of our labour leaders have called ‘the legitimate employer,’ *i. e.*, the man who is conducting his own business, and who can come into touch with his employees, it has no place, and the employers cannot and will not stand for it. If they are obliged to do so temporarily in some cases, they will chafe under it, and it will be but a short time before the aroused spirit of independence must make its continuance impossible.

“Please understand that by the ‘open shop’ I mean just exactly that. I am well aware that the labour unionists claim that the ‘open shop’ is and must be a ‘non-union shop.’ This is absolutely false unless the unions make it so by forbidding their members to work in it.

“For years the majority of the printing offices in Boston have been running as ‘open shops,’ and after a strike in these offices more than two years ago, each posted a notice as follows:

THIS IS AN OPEN OFFICE

No discrimination is to be made between union and non-union employees. It is one of the terms of employment that no employee shall refuse at any time to handle material on the ground that it has been prepared by union or non-union men, and that no employee shall subject any fellow-employee to annoyance because he is a union or non-union man.

“ And all, to the best of my knowledge and belief, actually lived up to it, with the result that when the strike was called here last February, hardly a man went out, notwithstanding the fact that many of them had been union men until that time, and I challenge anyone to show that wages and conditions here have not compared more than favourably with those in other cities where the union ‘ closed shop ’ prevailed.

“ In common with, I think, a large proportion of employers, I believe in organised labour. If it is impossible for employers sometimes to concede its demands, this does not necessarily mean lack of sympathy, but rather, the better judgment of the employers is against a move which in the long run is likely to prove disastrous to both employers and employees, as their interests are common to a larger extent than is generally recognised.”

THE LETTERS CONDENSED

1. The employer wants liberty to employ his labour in the labour market without interference, and to employ union or non-union labour at will. This means the "open shop."

2. He wants the right to discharge any man for incompetence, intemperance, or lack of fidelity to duty.

3. The labour unions should cease their unlawful acts in the destruction of property of former employers, and injury to persons who seek their positions after they have relinquished them.

4. The rest of the labour unions should be conducted on the high moral and business methods of the Brotherhood of Railway Engineers.

5. Employees when they make contracts should carry out their contracts, which some organisations do not do.

6. Unions should confine their efforts to the betterment of hours, wages, and working conditions, and not attempt to control other matters.

7. Employers want loyalty and interest in the business, industry and sobriety on the part of the workmen.

8. They object to sympathetic strikes.

9. They want the rank and file of workmen to attend the meetings of the unions, and not allow them to be managed by a few restless spirits.

10. They object to the character of the labour leaders, who are often grafters and restless spirits, who make trouble simply to enhance their own importance.

11. They want a proper execution of the laws by the judges without fear of the labour vote.

12. The labourer does not accomplish in a working day as much as he did ten years ago. The progress of the country, industrially, will be checked by the constant cry for less hours and higher pay.

13. The employer wants men who will do their best without considering remuneration until their capacity and ability have been proven. They want men who are willing to earn more than they get in order to secure results. If the employer has results, he is perfectly willing to increase wages.

14. The better class of employers wish the unrestricted opportunity to bind their workmen to their own establishments by ties of mutual interest through fair and liberal treatment, and by extending the old-fashioned inducements for skill, industry, and faithfulness. They wish to be able to

make individual concessions to the most skilled and faithful employees.

15. The figure of speech which represents the relation between capital and labour as one of warfare has done more than anything else to poison the thought and embitter the feelings of the American people. That simile is almost universally used in the publications of the labour unions.

16. The ideas, ambitions, and methods of the unions are toward the reduction of all labour to the level of the least competent and the least fit.

17. Membership in the union should be a guaranty of good workmanship with no restriction of output.

18. Employers object to the standard day's work; to the seniority rule, because it makes the employee aim to get through the day with as little exertion of mind and body as practicable.

VI

PRIMARY DEMANDS OF EMPLOYERS

The Point of View—Nature of Credit—
Superintendence—Assaults on Persons and
Property—Violation of Contracts.

ONE of the reasons for the difficulties in the labour world is that the minds of employers and employed do not work alike. They have wholly different points of view. A characteristic occupation not only produces special circumstances in the outside life; it tends to create a special type of mind. It is hard for the Frenchman to understand the ethical point of view of the Englishman; it is hard for the Englishman to see that the Frenchman is not so much a sinner as he is excessively frank. The Roman Catholic and the Protestant find it hard to do justice to each other. Mental differences run through all the world, and make most of its problems. There are material difficulties in the labour problem, but it cannot be insisted too strongly that many of these difficulties are psychological. If, for example, the workingman could get the point of view that

in a large and real sense the employer, when he is a superintendent of labour, is actually the servant of labour, instead of its master, that would be a gain; if, on the other hand, the employer could get the point of view that the collective body of labour is as essential to his enterprise as he is himself, it might ease his galled shoulder when he pulls a heavy load. The final adjustment of labour troubles must depend upon the successful effort of each factor to realise the opposite point of view. The surface antagonisms which depend upon surface differences in manner, speech, and mode of life must be resolved by the deeper unities of the recognition of essential fellowship. That essential fellowship belongs not alone to toil, but to the range of human wants, and to capacity for this world and perhaps another world. The workingman wants the sympathy of his employer; he wants the human touch; but there are employers who are equally hungry for the sympathy of the workingman; they would like to feel that he also cares for their burdens and difficulties, and that his joys and sorrows are related to the happiness of those to whom he is related in the business world.

The former discussion was opened with an argu-

ment to show the value of labour unions. In like manner the present discussion would be unworthy the great subject did it not seek to show clearly the relation of the employer to successful production. It is obvious that capital is very important to most enterprises, and to some enterprises large capital is indispensable. There are a variety of ways in which this capital may be secured, and it does not always belong to the employer. No matter how much capital a man may have, the economical management of nearly every business depends upon credit. That is to say, at certain times of the year more capital is required than at others. There must be some arrangement by which capital can increase and shrink. The successful business has enough capital for needs at the minimum, but must borrow at the times of the year when the need of money is greater. Of course this does not apply to the plant, but it does apply to such matters as the purchase of raw material, the carrying on of the enterprise while the finished product is being put upon the market, and the payment of wages, and other expenses before collections are made. Credit will be seen to be important to the successful business man, even though he have adequate capital, for he cannot afford to

overcapitalise any enterprise, and it is cheaper to pay interest for a part of the year on the surplus required than to have his own money lie idle a part of the year. And many enterprises would be impossible to employers upon the amount of capital which they have, apart from the facts stated above. They are men of energy and daring, and they are able to carry on enterprises beyond their own financial resources, and the basis upon which they carry it on is credit. It may be argued that the nature of the business and its probable success are elements in this credit, but the important element in the credit is the man himself. The banks do not wish to take charge of any business to which they lend money. They want their money back again. For this they rely upon the character and capacity of the man who is managing the business. Successful production would be greatly crippled without credit. If credit should vanish, the workman would immediately suffer. In times of financial stress what happens is the disappearance of credit: we all know how many other things happen besides.

But it is the value of the employer as superintendent that needs to be emphasised and willingly recognised. He must seek out the cheapest place

to buy the raw material; he must know the best machines to turn that into the finished product; he must have the capacity to finance the concern. In large establishments these functions are distributed among several men, but they all come under the one head of superintendence. The kind of ability required for successful superintendence is high class; manifestly, it must be well paid. No matter how skilful the workmen are, they cannot succeed unless these functions are successfully performed. As a matter of fact, many a workman has suffered by the incapacity of his employer, but, on the other hand, the whole range of successful production has for its initial element the ability and worth of the employer of labour. I have argued in favour of shorter hours for the workmen. I desire also to plead for shorter hours on behalf of the employer. The employer has no regular working day. The workingmen can lay down their tools and forget their tasks, but the employer, particularly in times of stress, walks with his work, eats with his work, and sleeps with his work, for it haunts him in his dreams, and in times of danger and difficulty robs him of sleep and keeps him working at such long hours as amounts to slavery. I have often remonstrated

with employers because of their cruelty to themselves. Their ambitions for success are often so great that everything is sacrificed to them. They are not only angry when workmen wish greater wages, but they are impatient when any of the higher interests of society demand their attention. They become hard and selfish; they succeed, but the price of the success is too great. Into the bargain they have put the generous aspirations of youth, social duties and obligations, domestic affections and opportunities, the culture of the mind, the uplift of the soul, and finally, the health of the body, to win a success the value of which depends upon the senses, but it is only won after the senses are jaded, the body is crippled, and they are ready to drop into untimely graves the victims of remorseless struggle. A great employer and a successful man once said to me, "Do you suppose I would go again through all the terrible strain that I have passed through in the last thirty years even if I knew I should have as much money as I have now? Do you think that the money is worth it?" Frankly, I do not think the money is worth it. The whole tone of the industrial organisation needs to be recast. The perspective of human life needs to be set in a clearer light. The

task is not easy, for it is only those who really know what man is in all the range of his Godlike powers who are fitted to decide what life should be. The new ethics will demand that a man rightly love himself, for after all it is only the man who knows his real duty to himself who can rightly love his neighbour. The employer who is willing to sacrifice every interest in life to the accumulation of property, who gives to it his own body and his soul, will doubtless be very impatient with respect to any demand of workingmen.

To the workingmen, however, it must be pointed out that employers as a class, though they sometimes achieve wealth, often fail in its pursuit. It is the very few who amass great wealth in legitimate business. Those who amass wealth in illegitimate ways must finally be attended to by the criminal code, but the few who amass great wealth in legitimate business must have extraordinary capacity and make extraordinary sacrifices. They may have a great show of material resources, but the question still comes, as of old, what profit if a man gain the world and lose his life? The workingman must get a larger horizon. He also must learn to look not alone upon his own things, but also upon the things of another. He sees his

employer come to the office perhaps after he has been at work for an hour; the employer rides to the work, the workman walks. The employer would doubtless have a better digestion if he also walked, but the employer is not having as easy a time as the workingman supposes. He may not work with his hands, but he works with tired brain and tingling nerves. He does not carry a load upon his back that men may see, and may not have to brush dirt from his clothes, but often he is carrying a load of responsibility under which his mental faculties stagger. It is only because he succeeds that the business succeeds. He is an essential part of the enterprise. It is a mistake to suppose that the production of wealth depends solely upon manual labour; it cannot succeed without manual labour, but neither can manual labour succeed without wise superintendence.

There is a feeling upon the part of many employers that the unions make demands that are trifling in their nature, and which often amount to unwise exactions. They think, further, that labour leaders often seek to interfere in the conduct of business in matters which are not directly related to the interest of the workmen. Abundant testimony can be furnished that unions go outside

of the matters of wages, hours, and sanitary conditions. These seem to be the present legitimate domain of mutual discussion, and it is necessary for workmen to have some regard to the rights of superintendence. In the struggle for existence, the man who is in charge of the business has found his place. He may not be the best man, ideally, for the place, but he is the best man the place has or can have, for his interest in the business is inalienable. It is to the interest of the business, and therefore to the interest of the workman whose wages must be paid from the business, that his hands shall not be tied. If he has to spend a considerable part of his time and energy in deciding what he shall do to meet possible demands of the workmen with respect to matters outside of their province, he does it at the expense of nerve force and brain energy that it is better for all concerned should be applied to the promotion of the business.

The employers desire that unlawful acts in the destruction of property and injury to persons should cease. This is a question broader than the interests of the two parties to the labour question. It is not a question of the success of labour or the success of capital. It is a question of the success

of American institutions. There can be no permanent victories won by labour that are not won under the form of law. I hold to the view that the member of a union has a right to persuade another man not to accept the job which he has left, but he must not persuade him with a shotgun. He has a right to urge his fellow-workman to join his union, but he must not urge him by putting a stick of dynamite under his house. It is not fair to hold organised labour responsible for the acts of individuals, but it is fair to hold organised labour responsible for its attitude toward those who commit unlawful acts. Organised labour must purge itself from any suspicion of violence to secure its ends, or organised labour must suffer the consequences. It is as intolerable to allow murder, arson, and riot in the alleged friends of labour as it is in any other class. Murder, arson, and riot are crimes which the whole body of society is under obligations to resist with all the force at its command. The man who hits the non-union man over the head with a club is not the friend of organised labour, but its enemy. There are to be no victories in this country for assassination. If the union differs from the employer of labour, it must not seek to convince him

by burning down his shop or warehouse. These things are not said in the interests of the rights of property; they are said in the interests of the workingman himself. The weak and the poor are only safe because greed and strength, power and position are compelled to obey the laws. A lawless condition of affairs means the success at last of the army. The only way out of the breakdown of lawful and orderly society is the military despotism, but the military despotism means a renewal of serfdom. It is possible that as a result of present conditions, inflamed passions, the unwisdom of leaders, our social institutions will be dissolved, but it is not possible that anarchy should remain as the permanent condition under which men and women will live. The building of a social order is the logical and necessary result of human association. This is the lesson of all human history. There is only one way for labour unions to act in this matter, and that is to expel from their ranks every man who is guilty of breaking any law. The labour unions are more interested in securing the conviction of those who assault persons or destroy property than any other class. With the preservation of the social order, every interest of labour is bound up. All wise

leaders of labour thoroughly understand these principles, and more and more labour will emerge from this condition of probation into a condition of security by following their guidance. If the courts of law can be intimidated and threatened by anonymous letters suggesting violence or reprisal at the polls, the same courts will be the prey to the seductions of those who represent the money power. The safe court is the untrammelled court. Upon the purity of the courts the safety of society depends. It has been the boast of the American people for a hundred years that whatever faults the young democracy might have, its courts were secure, and in general that boast has always been justified by the facts, and is to-day.

The workingman pleads for the sense of brotherhood, and asks for the human touch, and he does well; but the workingman must remember that the employer is his brother; he must also remember that the non-union man is his brother. In a free country we do not beat out one another's brains for difference of opinions. A non-union man may be foolish, and I think he is foolish, but he must be persuaded by the effective display of reasons for joining the union; he must be shown that his interests lie with the unions. This is a process of

education and not intimidation. It is neither wise nor right for any representatives of labour to appeal to force; they must appeal to justice, and they must strengthen their appeal by themselves being just. Labour has come far. It has secured many successes, but all the victories that labour has won thus far are imperilled to-day by the doubt that society has whether organised labour can be trusted to use only peaceable means. If force is to be resorted to on one side, there can be no objection to its being resorted to upon the other side. Brute war becomes elemental, and in the storm the values of a thousand years may perish. Let us not be compelled to go back again to the days of the beginning and deal afresh with Cæsars and with Napoleons, for after the earthquake that shakes down institutions there comes the fire which consumes the homes of the individuals. It is better to debate and not to shoot. It is better to convince the reason rather than to bruise the flesh.

Seventy years ago, when a young man, Abraham Lincoln, that far-sighted friend of man, uttered these words:

“ I know the American people are much attached

to their government; I know they would suffer much for its sake; I know they would endure evils long and patiently before they would ever think of exchanging it for another; yet notwithstanding all this, if the laws be continually despised and disregarded, if their rights to be secure in their persons and property are held by no better tenure than the caprice of a mob, the alienation of their affections from the government is the natural consequence; and to that, sooner or later, it must come. Here then is one point at which danger may be expected.

“The question recurs, How shall we fortify against it? The answer is simple. Let every American, every lover of liberty, every well-wisher to his posterity, swear by the blood of the Revolution never to violate in the least particular the laws of the country, and never to tolerate their violation by others. As the patriots of 'seventy-six did to the support of the constitution and laws, let every American pledge his life, his property, and his sacred honour. Let every man remember that to violate the law is to trample on the blood of his father, and to tear the charter of his own and his children's liberty. Let reverence for the laws be breathed by every American mother to the

lispings babe that prattles on her lap; let it be taught in schools, in seminaries, in colleges; let it be written in primers, spelling books and in almanacs; let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice. And, in short, let it become the political religion of the nation; and let the old and the young, the rich and the poor, the grave and the gay of all sexes and tongues and colours and conditions sacrifice unceasingly upon its altars."

I have quoted these words years ago in another connection. It still seems true that every violation of municipal law by municipal officers is a social poison. It still seems true that even injustice that is sanctioned by law were better borne in a free country where the ballot is in every man's hand, rather than that justice should be secured by violence and fraud. The only argument for free institutions that is unanswerable is that the people may finally be depended upon to decide questions upon sound ethical principles. Labour and capital alike must depend upon the development of the conscience in the electorate guided by the voices of reason. Any cause that cannot wait for these methods, whether it have the name of

vested interests and associated capital upon the one side, or whether it be in the name of the plain people and of organised labour upon the other side, must perish and ought to perish.

The duty to maintain order rests with the legally constituted authorities. If the local authorities are not sufficient, appeal must be made to the State; if the State fails, recourse must be had to the forces of the nation; if the nation fails, we have anarchy. When authority fails, rough justice may be meted out by the mob, but mob rule is anarchy.

This doctrine is at once recognised until it is practically applied. All men not swayed by passion will agree that it is better that the guilty should sometimes escape than that private vengeance should again sway the world. Private preparations for the protection of property by armed force under the control of private persons or corporations, and at their expense, are provocative of trouble. Armed guards, Pinkerton detectives, men loaned from the police of other cities, or special deputies appointed by sheriffs by the request and at the expense of employers of labour, have probably caused more trouble than they have prevented. At any rate, the principles

underlying their use are a part of the doctrine of mob law under a new form.

It is the business of the State, as the authoritative organ of society, to preserve order and to punish crime at the expense of the public. Regularly constituted officers of the law have the majesty of organised society behind them. They will be obeyed when new or unusual organs of order, though organised under cover of the law, stir the passions and arouse the hate of men.

Order secured through the regular authorities is the only form that has any promise of permanence. An overpowering number of deputies may quell trouble, but the fact that the deputies are regarded as the servants of the corporations and not the servants of the law, leaves behind it a legacy of revenge that will find its way into new forms of violence as soon as opportunity shall be presented. Public officers, without interest or passion, solely as the representatives of the authoritative justice of society, and paid wholly from public funds, must be relied upon to preserve the public order.

Employers ask that the labour unions, when they make contracts, carry them out. This seems such a plain business proposition that one would be

surprised that such a request were made at all did not the facts in a number of cases indicate that there is reason for it. The whole business world rests upon the doctrine of obligation of contracts. A man agrees to do a certain act, provided his fellow performs another act. Upon the presumption that men will be faithful to their engagements, capital is risked, enterprises are engaged in, and the whole commercial world has its life and activity. It is true that men in all walks of life are to be found who will seek to evade their contracts and sometimes to break them. On this account it has been necessary to build up a body of legislation and of judicial precedent for reprisals if men will not keep their contracts. Not alone does the betrayed person suffer, but social justice says that the offender shall also be made to suffer. The labour unions refuse to incorporate. Some say that it is to avoid the penalties that might be enforced for breaking contracts. Others say that it is to avoid obligation for damages by members of the union in carrying out the orders of the union to strike. Whatever may be the legal arrangements, and with these I have nothing to do, it must be insisted that the moral obligation to keep a contract rests both upon the individual man, upon the union to which he belongs, and also upon

the directing national organisation. If men agree for a certain wage to work so many hours per day, or per week, for a term of years, no change of circumstances, except the failure of the employer to keep his word, will atone for breaking the pledge. There are a sufficient number of cases upon record to show that there is not the sense of obligation among labour leaders that there should be at this point. In the case of the Typographical Union, described by one of my correspondents, there is a distinct violation of the principles of arbitration to which the union had definitely consented. Another case is that of the recent lithographers' strike, as detailed by Mr. Frank Stecher. He says that after the representatives of the employers and the workingmen had agreed with practical unanimity upon a contract, it was submitted to the unions by referendum and rejected. They ask, and I think not unreasonably, that the conferees who represented the union should have power to bind the unions as a prerequisite to a further conference. In the dispute between the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association, the employers offered to confer, and if the conference failed, to submit the whole matter to arbitration. This was refused, and a strike for the eight-hour day was made without

giving an opportunity even for the question to be submitted by referendum to the union. The lithographers wanted an eight-hour day; it is very likely that they were right in this contention, but from the *prima facie* statement of the case it is evident that they were wrong in their methods. I have cited these two cases, not for the purpose of passing judgment upon them, for I am not in possession of all the facts, but in order to make clear and definite the statement of certain principles. Unions may refuse to agree to bind themselves to accept a certain scale of wages for a certain definite length of time. They may refuse to arbitrate in case of future disputes, but, having agreed to the scale, or having agreed to arbitrate, they have no right to break this agreement. The integrity of the unions is only one of the issues. It is even more vital to the interests of the unions that they should keep their contracts than it is to the employers, for unless the unions can establish confidence in their good faith among their own members, they cannot exist. If the members of the union see that the leaders of the union are ready to betray the employers, the suspicion will grow that the same leaders will, on occasion, betray the unions.

VII

SECONDARY DEMANDS OF EMPLOYERS

Labour Leaders—The Sympathetic Strike—
Discipline in the Labour Union—Effort for
Monopoly—Loyalty to the Business—The La-
bour Press.

No position of responsibility in this country at this time demands higher ability or more character than the position of labour leader. There is a feeling among many men connected with neither side of the controversy that the unions have not always been as careful as they might have been in the selections of their local leaders. They have chosen men who were bold, eager, and gifted with the art of speech. They should have chosen men who were resourceful, intelligent, patient, and thoroughly honest. The charge that there are sometimes grafters among labour leaders seems to be abundantly proven, but it is no argument against the cause of labour. We wish the unions would be more careful in the choice of their leaders, and crush out the grafters; we also wish the

directors of banks would be more careful in the selection of their officers, and see that no embezzlers are found among them. Occasional grafters among the labour leaders does not prove the insincerity or unworthiness of the labour cause, any more than the occasional defalcation of a bank officer proves the general untrustworthiness of financial institutions. It is not unnatural that the rank and file of workingmen should leave a great deal to their leaders without due consideration, but the methods for the protection of the interests of labour are precisely the same as the methods which must be employed for the protection of American politics. It is only when the whole citizenship becomes intelligently interested in all great public questions, and engages actively in the support of its convictions and in the selection of its leaders, that our political institutions are safe. In like manner, the rank and file of labour must take the trouble to inform themselves on all the great issues, and must be actively engaged in shaping policies and in securing safe and wise leadership.

This leads directly to the question of the sympathetic strike. It is stated that unions frequently go out on strike when they have not the

slightest grievance of their own, simply because they are ordered to strike. To condemn the sympathetic strike without due consideration shows a lack of appreciation of the conditions of the labour movement. It is the solidarity of labour which gives it its strength. If men in the labour unions think they have a real grievance and find that they cannot obtain consideration from their employers, the last resort is to strike. If they strike, they must use every means to win the battle, for whatever may be said about the use of terms, a strike, even under the most peaceable conditions, is nothing less than war. A sympathetic strike is the loan of time and influence to other unions, to be returned with interest in a time of need. If the first battalion cannot win the fight, labour has certainly a right to call up another battalion, and by and by to call out the regiments and divisions until the army is large enough and strong enough to win the fight, but there is one distinct limitation upon the right of the sympathetic strike: No union that has made a contract for a definite scale and for definite hours to run for a definite number of years, has any right to go out on a sympathetic strike during that time, any more than it has a right to strike on its own account.

The law of contract forbids it. Men must keep their agreements; if they do not keep their agreements, they cannot win the respect and confidence of the general public, and, strong as the army of labour is, particularly in certain crafts, it is by no means so strong as organised society taken together, and at last it must bow to the virtue and wisdom which have made business and industry possible among civilised men. Labour must keep its contracts.

The note of approval in one of the letters for the Brotherhood of Railway Engineers is nothing new in the labour world. For years that organisation has merited and received the esteem of the general public. One writer describes their business methods as being upon the highest plane, and asks that other unions imitate them. This brotherhood has not suffered on account of the dignity, carefulness, and honour with which it has conducted its affairs, nor will any other union suffer from the same virtues.

I have insisted upon patience as one of the necessary virtues of the workingman, and so it is. It is unfair to employers to propose a sudden revolution in their relations to their workmen. They may have made contracts involving large sums of

money, and based upon a certain amount of output which they have reason to expect, and a certain wage price for this commodity. By some sudden readjustment, the output may be impossible, the wage price may be greatly increased, and the employer suffers large losses. The damage is not damage to the employer alone; it is a damage to the business. If the workmen have a real share in the ownership of the business, as they often claim, by such methods and measures they cripple their own resources and destroy their own future.

I have spoken of organised labour as a means of discipline. It has frequently proved so in the restraint of hot-headed leaders of local unions, and in the settlement of strikes deemed to be untimely and unwise, but the function of the labour unions as an organ of discipline must be largely extended if labour is to reach the place of power which it seeks. The matter of the scale of wages, it is asserted by the employer, brings the skilful workman down to the level of the least competent and the least fit. This, of course, is denied by the representatives of labour. They say that they fix the lowest wages, and that it is perfectly within the power of the employer to give individual members of the union a higher scale if he wishes. But

when the scale has been the subject of controversy and the general scale has fixed the price for a day's work beyond what has hitherto been paid, it is evident that the minimum scale of the labour union will be the maximum scale that the employer will grant. Moreover, when the employers have picked out individuals among their workmen whom they regard as specially worthy of confidence, and have granted them wages at a higher rate, the unions very often, upon the discovery of the fact, seek to make that higher price once more the average scale. It would seem that steps forward must be taken in the direction of discipline. The working out of the details of this matter must, of course, be left to the unions themselves, but as an indication of what is meant, it may be suggested that definite tests of fitness should be made for every man who wishes to become a member of the union. No man should be accepted as a workman entitled to receive the wage scale unless he passes the test. The mere fact that he has served the time of an apprentice is not enough, and this matter is especially important in those occupations that demand the most skill. It is a question whether the unions should not make some classification of workmen. I know that the

answer to this suggestion will be that such a measure would destroy the equality which is so desirable in the union. But when there is no real equality of service, a false equality of reward cannot be based upon sound economic principles. Discriminations made by the unions themselves would be a pledge of effort upon the part of their workmen to gain entrance to the first rank. It seems to me that it would provide a desirable stimulus for the improvement of all grades of work.

The standard day's work has been carried to a much further extent in some countries than in others, and in some parts of our country than in others. The standard day's work which says that a man, no matter what his capacity or willingness, can only perform so much labour in a day or he is put under the ban, is distinctly the enemy of the shorter day. Society is interested in abundant production. The short day's work should be the rapid day's work. What is gained in time should be made up in vigour. If the time should ever come when the general body of workingmen think more of their wages than they do of their work, it would be just as bad for the workingmen as it would be for anybody else. Some people

think that time has come now. If the unions propose to assume control of the labour element in production, and to treat with employers upon all essential differences, leaving to employers the management of the plant, the purchase of the raw material, and the sale of the output, the labour unions must measure up to the responsibility of the position. In the long run it cannot be done by force, either the force of numbers or by special legislation, or in any other way that does not prove that labour can best manage itself. No organ could be devised that has in it such capacity for usefulness in this direction as the labour unions. They are next to the problem. They have overseers at every point; they know men's habits and their conditions of life. Such a view of the subject is self-government in the highest degree. With a union taking such a view of its position and responsibility, the employer would never ask for the right to discharge men for intemperance, incompetence, or lack of fidelity to duty; the union would see to that. They would see that the solidarity of labour must mean the solidarity of skill, of capacity, of character, and of service, and in the long run men will refuse to bear the burdens that are put upon them by the mistakes of their

associates. The first duty, it seems to me, of the labour unions is to take themselves seriously as an organ of discipline.

I do not pretend to work out the details of such a classification, but content myself with laying down what seems to me a sound principle of action.

The application of this principle would preserve the solidarity of action for which the union stands, and which is, without question, essential to the improvement of labour conditions, and at the same time it would secure that elasticity in the supply of labour which is of the utmost consequence to the success of production. One of my correspondents speaks of wishing to bind their workmen to their own establishment by the ties of mutual interest through fair and liberal treatment, and by extending the old-fashioned inducements for skill, industry, and faithfulness. The employer wishes to make individual concessions to the most skilful and faithful employees. It is certain that in reality the workingmen are just as much interested in the skill and capacity of labour as the employers can possibly be. The wage fund comes out of the result of production. The larger the production, the easier it is to secure an advance

in wages. If special service may secure special reward, the stimulus for character and conduct is provided. In England I was given the details of a contract for building where the contractor brought over American mechanics. The American mechanics did not work long hours, but they did faithful work during the hours when they were supposed to be employed. The result was the building was constructed with such rapidity as to astonish Englishmen, where the building trades had established a standard day's work which no member of the union was supposed to surpass. It is not an edifying spectacle to see a workman considering whether he is doing too much. He should only be careful not to do too little, so as to preserve his own self-respect, as well as to secure the respect of his employer. The doctrine of restricted output is unsound economically. There is no danger in the present generation of so much being accomplished that it will be a disaster to those who do the work. There is no need of restricting the day's work in the building trade until there are too many houses, and that will not be until an adequate roof is placed over every man, woman, and child. When that is accomplished, let us hope that we shall be able to turn

the attention of the building trades to structures for the public welfare.

Nor is it an edifying spectacle to see the day's work so carefully measured that a man will drop his hammer when the clock strikes, in the midst of driving a nail, or leave a board only half sawed. These things are not in the interest of labour at all. The same principle holds with regard to the effort to limit the number of men engaged in gainful occupations. It applies to the doctrine of restriction of immigration in the interest of the workingmen who are already here. I am in considerable doubt even as to an educational qualification for immigration. The main point is that the immigrant shall be sound physically, and have race capacity for incorporation in the homogeneous American nation. The economical value of immigrants is by no means based upon literary qualifications. Some object to the immigrant from Latin countries, but the Italian immigrants, who are low in the scale of literary qualifications, prove successful economically beyond some other race elements in our population. It will be time to talk about too much immigration and too much labour when all our vacant lands are tilled, when there are no more new railroads to construct, no

bridges to build, no cities to found, no ships needed upon the seas, and no willing hands required to furnish freight for the railroads, cargoes for the ships, and satisfaction for the bodies and minds of men.

A part of the economical confusion into which men fall in considering such questions as those related to production, is the implied belief in the stationary character of business and society. It was this lack of wisdom that led English workmen to join in riots when machines took the place of hand labour. The machine was there anyway; they would destroy it. Events have proven that the workmen were clearly wrong. The machine was not their enemy, but their friend. Every added power of production has ministered to the consciousness of need, and has led to greater complexity in the demand for labour. There never can be too much labour, and the labour market can never be really glutted. This follows because human wants are capable of indefinite expansion, while the amount of production is always relatively limited. The work of hand and brain can never keep up to the pace set by the easy emergence of new desires and the happy product of human imagination. A char-

acteristic of the last twenty-five years is the large number of new occupations that have been thrown open, and the new methods of production. The seeming glut of the market is not because too many things have been produced, but because the right things have not been produced, and because, owing to the lack of commercial ability, they have not been speedily and properly distributed.

The doctrine of overproduction will not bear a single moment's close scrutiny. The man who has something to sell may have too much of a commodity to secure the price that he desires. There may be too much production of a particular kind, in comparison with other forms of production. These inequalities in a free labour world, left to themselves, will soon be righted. New enterprises and new men will take up the place of scarcity, and men leaving business will drop out from the place of plenty, until the balance is restored. It is impossible in a finite world to so manage matters that every individual business or work shall be successful, and every individual producer shall always have what he is really entitled to. The best that can be done is to secure such a state as shall bring the greatest success to society as a whole, and the least injustice

to any individual. When new machines are put into any line of business it undoubtedly brings discomfort, and often great hardship, to individuals. These men suffer vicariously. It is always for the good of society that production shall be made as cheap and as plenty as possible. When a large amount of social sympathy is developed, special provision will be made for men who temporarily suffer by new methods of production, but that condition of affairs is yet to come; but the effort to limit production in the interests of labour that labour may have more to do to-morrow, or in the interests of the employer, that he may secure higher prices for his product, is not in the category of incidental evil. It is radically wrong. Monopoly in the market or monopoly in labour can never have more than a partial and temporary success, and it is destined to be the source of permanent and widespread disaster. Very few men are to be found who would say that they had all the commodity they desire. Those who are the richest and best placed can usually quicken some new desire. The only way to satisfy opulent desires is by abundant human production.

The employers want loyalty and interest in the business. They think that the employment which

furnishes support for the workingman, food and shelter for his family, ought to be an object, not of hate, but of affection. When right relations are established between employer and employed, interest and loyalty should follow. Workmen in the business should be as anxious for the success of that business as any university is for the success of its football team. They should be ready to cheer on the fainting, and as tenderly to care for the wounded in the industrial scrimmage. This loyalty and interest can be had when the employers recognise the proper demands of the workingmen and are ready to treat labour as an element of importance in the business.

It is not difficult to state the principle upon which the relative importance of labour and capital in any business depends. Where the machinery is cheap and the number of labourers required is large, labour is more important; when the machinery is expensive and the number of labourers required is small, capital is the more important element. In other words, the relative importance of the two factors will depend upon the relation between interest and wages, as measured by the normal value of money, and the normal value of labour in the markets of the world.

The new attitude of labour asserts the right to be considered as a partner in the conduct of the business. Partnership can only be carried on by conference, concession, and adjustment, and in case of difficulty which the parties cannot settle, arbitration. But it is intolerable to suppose that where there is a partnership between superintendence and labour, the superintendent must bear the burdens and carry the enterprise to success, while labour assumes a piratical attitude and says, "I will do as little work as possible, and loot the concern of all its profits in the name of wages." Every man who is willing to share the fortunes of the business by being upon its payroll, ought to feel bound in honour to exert himself by the quality of his work and by the extent of his influence to make that business a success. It is the duty of the employer to pay as large wages as the results of the business will allow, after a fair return for interest and superintendence. On the other hand, it is equally the duty of labour to make the paying of wages as light a burden as possible, by doing everything that lies in its power to make the business successful.

Once again it needs to be stated at this point, the interest of the employer and the employed can

be reconciled. Some years ago it was shown by an investigation of the textile factories in America, England, and Germany that while America paid the highest wages, England the next, and Germany the lowest, the labour cost per yard was lowest in America, second in England, and highest in Germany. In other words, the factories which paid the highest wages had the best results. Up to a certain point this will always be true, because higher wages mean a higher standard of living; that is, better food, better clothing, better homes, better care in sickness, and these mean that the labourer becomes a better man. It is to the interest of the employer every way to see that the people who are associated with him have brought to bear upon them every influence to make them the best people possible. On the other hand, it is the duty of wage earners, both by the measure of the actual day's work and by that more indefinable spirit of faithfulness, to make the superintendent feel that they are entirely dependable, that they are his friends, and that though other men fail him, his own associates will prove his support.

The press that represents the labour movement is frequently indicted for the inflammatory character of its articles. They represent every man

who has money as being a constitutional oppressor. They decline to see in success anything but the triumph of cunning and greed. They sneer at the churches, and all the institutions which conserve the moral life of the community. There is too much truth in these statements. It sometimes seems a competition in lurid rhetoric rather than any full and honest discussion. If the evil were confined to the use of the simile of war when war really does exist, the complaint would not have sufficient foundation; unfortunately the evil goes far beyond the use of that figure of speech. On the other hand, the periodicals which represent various associations of employers and organisations of capital are no less to be blamed for their incendiary language. I have before me a copy of the *Square Deal*, a monthly published by the Citizens' Industrial Association of America, for October, 1906. In its editorial columns it has an article upon the "Labour Trust Anarchist," in which it deliberately falsifies an address by Mr. Bonaparte, Secretary of the Navy, given at Chautauqua. The secretary is represented as advocating the passing of laws inflicting the death penalty on anarchists who take life, and whipping and imprisonment for less serious offences. It then

goes on to say: "Mr. Gompers is an anarchist, and so are many of his fellows. He is a self-confessed anarchist," and the article strongly intimates that he is the man who ought to be publicly whipped and imprisoned, closing with these words: "If Mr. Gompers' words are not the utterances of a true anarchist, then there are no anarchists; they are more; they are treasonable." This is a sample of the kind of literature which it is supposed will be effective in awakening the conscience of the American people to overthrow the labour trust. Much may be forgiven to the irresponsible man of little education whose passions are easily inflamed, but a company of men who are supposed to represent not alone the business interests, but the highest social position and culture, must be judged in quite another way. *Noblesse oblige!*

This whole discussion must move from the domain of heat and smoke out into the quiet country of light and wisdom. Labour unions must cease to intimidate those who differ from them upon important questions, but capitalists must cease their threats and their reprisals, their quiet social and business boycotts, which are among the most offensive incidents of our present social life.

VIII

THREE PARTIES IN INTEREST

Employers, Employed, Public—The Economic Battle—The Common Interest in Production—Fallacy of Limited Production—Joy and Integrity—The Rich and Flexible World.

THERE are three parties to the problem of labour, and any solution that is to be either wise or satisfactory must consider the interests of the three. The parties are the employer, the employed, and the public.

The most conspicuous difficulty in coming to any agreement is in securing the recognition on all sides of the real relation of each of these parties. The employer cannot get along without labourers. He may have the best machinery, the finest plant, abundant raw material, and waiting markets, but if there are no willing hands to help him, not a wheel will turn, the raw material will perish in waiting, and the public will suffer from a sense of need. The workingmen need the employer. They may have good health, abundant skill, and a desire to toil, but if there are no tools and no raw

material, there can be no employment. Somewhere and somehow there must be secured a supply of stored-up labour. Labour must have been successful beyond the point of the daily needs in order that surplus wealth may become capital.

But though employer and employed come to an understanding and the best machinery and the best men turn out the best product, the wheels must soon cease to hum and the tools to do their work if there is no waiting public ready to consume the finished product. And the public has a real right to express itself upon any controversies between employer and workingmen which make the product scarce or dear that the public desires to use.

A national labour leader in a recent address expressed himself thus: "I think that the man who builds a house ought to live in it, and the one who weaves a beautiful garment ought to wear the garment." This doctrine, without modification or explanation, was stated as the essence of the whole question. It is not too much to say that more economic falsehood could scarcely have been put in the same limited space. If the house or the garment constituted the sole want of the worker, and he owned the raw material, no one could question the soundness of the utterance, but since the man

who builds a house needs food and drink, clothing and books, and all the appliances of civilised life, without which the house is of no value at all, he must build not one house but several houses in order to be entitled to one of his own. In like manner, the weaver of the beautiful garment can only have other needs supplied which are more imperative, when he is willing to part with the beautiful garment in barter to satisfy the other wants.

There is a point of view from which it would seem as if the interests of the three parties are always at war. The employer wishes the highest price for his product; he wishes to pay the smallest wages, and to buy his raw material at the lowest price. The labourer wishes the shortest and easiest day's work with the highest wages. The public wishes to buy the best goods at the lowest prices. Now, if the economic emphasis is placed upon any one of these apparently conflicting interests, no solution can be reached. It is necessary to resolve these differences in a higher unity, if such a thing can be found. The student must, therefore, seek to find some point of view from which the interests of the three parties may be seen to be identical. The employer desires large products; manifestly

the only way that he can secure large products is by successful production. He must economise at every point, make every stroke of work count. His plant must be located at such a place that he can secure the raw material as cheaply as possible. He must also be able to find his market near his factory. If the market be far, the raw material must certainly be near. If the raw material be far, he must find his compensation in near and eager markets. Successful production is the source of wealth. The labourer wishes higher wages; he cannot have higher wages than the business can afford. In order to secure higher wages he must have good machinery, wise superintendence, and he must be himself a willing and efficient worker. All the need of raw material and market which belongs to the employer belongs also to him. As there can be no large profits without successful production, so there can be permanently no large wages without successful production. The first and greatest interest of every workingman is to make the business in which he is engaged as successful as it is possible to make it. The public wants its goods at the cheapest prices, but goods that are scarce and expensive in the making must be expensive to the public. At the last there can

be no reduction in prices without increased efficiency in production. It seems plain that there is a common unity for these three interests. That unity is found in the successful labour which is able alone to furnish large products, high wages, and cheap goods. The division of the spoils must be a cause of debate, and questions of profits, wages, and prices must be adjusted by agreement and by the working of those laws upon which the whole structure of society rests; but there can be no conflict over spoils which do not exist, and no one of the parties can win at any point in the conflict until his successful labour has secured its abundant reward.

This indicates very clearly the nature of the labour battle. It is not a question of principles or of methods, but it is a question of the division of the spoils. The employer and employed have a mutual interest in making the profits as large as possible. It is only when the profits are to be divided that the class interest becomes evident. One other matter must be set forth in order to put before us all the elements of the problem; that is, to clear up the incoherence of thought with reference to the nature of production. Whatever labour satisfies a normal human want is produc-

tion, and whatever services are required in the satisfaction of that want, from the first use of the raw material until the finished product is placed in the hands of those who are to use it, is a part of the labour production. The production of the most commonplace articles of use is a very complicated affair. It is not alone the cooper who has made the water pail, for it took a hundred years for the raw material to grow in the forest. Then those who opened the iron mine to get material for the hoops, and those who built the sawmill, and those who constructed the railways that brought the raw material and took away the product, and those who managed the banks that furnished credit, the drayman upon the street, the clerk in the store, and the young man who sets the water pail down in someone's kitchen where it has been ordered, have each some part in the task of producing the water pail, and must each be paid for his services. It is quite evident that there can be no exact mathematical calculation for deciding just what each one's share of the product is. It would cost more to figure out by an elaborate system of bookkeeping each one of the elements of cost involved than the whole transaction could pay for. So it will always happen that the particular elements in production cannot

be specifically recognised and rewarded in particular transactions. Rough and substantial justice is the best that anyone can hope for. On division of the profits the parties may always differ, but the thing upon which they cannot be allowed to differ is in the production of profits. All unnecessary labour must be eliminated to reduce the cost, and the labour thus set free can be employed elsewhere. This is the key to the labour problem. The unity of interests for all parties is in the securing the largest production possible, and the labour conflict is found alone in the distribution to each producer of his fair share of the result.

It must be noted, therefore, that if this statement of fact is correct, the combination of employers that would limit the output of any special line of product in the interests of a scarcity which will secure higher prices, is acting, not normally, but artificially. Such a combination is not only an enemy of the general public, but it is a form of economic suicide. Again, any organisation of workingmen that deliberately decides to be less efficient in labour than they might be, is not alone at war with the interests of the business of which they form a part, but is at war with the interests of the workingman himself. There is no doubt

that such combinations of manufacturers or of workingmen may temporarily secure some advantage, but in the long run the advantage will turn to disaster. It is a game that at last all can play at. If, therefore, one line of production is limited in order to make profits for either capital or labour, and it seems successful, another line of business will imitate the perilous example, then another, and then another, until the whole organisation of the industrial world will be consumed with the idea to secure scarcity in order to secure plenty. Now scarcity is the enemy of plenty, and will at last secure its revenges. The principle upon which a limited production or a limited amount of labour is successful is precisely the same principle on which the thief is successful; if he is not caught, he enjoys something which he has not earned. Only a little earnest thought upon the real nature of labour and its rewards is necessary to see the utter fallacy of limited production. Suppose the farmers should band together and say, "Henceforth we will only raise eight bushels of wheat to the acre, and we will adopt methods of agriculture that will be certain to keep the crops down to that point; by so doing we shall have high prices for wheat." A few years' higher prices for wheat

might ensue, but the final result would be that starving workingmen, denied bread at normal prices, would be unable to furnish the farmer either the machinery or the clothes or the houses of which he would stand in need, and if the price of flour goes up permanently, the price of meat goes up also, and with these, increased prices of hats and shoes must inevitably follow. Real wealth is the result of real production. All else is accidental, is jugglery, and sometimes is nothing better than stealing. Prosperity cannot be built upon accidents, success cannot come by sorcery, and plenty is not a gift of thieves.

It must be noted, also, that each one of these three classes is not fixed, but is constantly changing. Every workingman is also an employer. He is an employer of labour for the production of every commodity which he uses except those articles which are made by his own hands. A carpenter employs the farmer, the shoemaker, the tailor. The banker is an employer of labour no less than the manufacturer, though he may not superintend the labourer that works for him. Because, therefore, there is no such thing as a rigid division between these three classes, there can be no permanent separation of their interests. Economic tricks

may produce short-sighted successes at the expense of the rest of the community, but at last only those successes in which the entire community can have a chance of participation will be found to be permanent. There is a larger social solidarity in fact than there is in the human consciousness. This is one of the conquests we are slowly making. There is need of a new sense of human fellowship, based not merely upon sentiment, but recognised as the true interpretation of all that is real in human life. It will be easy for those who have achieved this mental attitude to understand that it is good for each member of the community to have every other member of the community successful, and this fact runs through the whole range of business. The defeat of any considerable part of a community is a limitation upon the markets of those who are successful. Those who do not produce cannot barter. Those who do not produce enough to satisfy the primary wants must be supported by all the rest. Individual success can only be great where the individual partakes of the success of the community. Concede to great captains of industry all the ability which they think they have; they can be neither rich nor great except in a wealth-producing community. Mr. Rockefeller would have had no scope

for his genius in Syria, and Mr. Harriman would have found unexpected obstacles if his sphere of operations had happened to be in Turkey. These men may have made too much. That is quite another part of the subject, but the possibility of any success for any man is, at the last, the willingness to share that success with his neighbour.

Successful labour is not a thing of the hands or of the mind alone. There are other essential elements. A sullen crew of workmen, with a brute for a superintendent, cannot accomplish the tasks that the same men are capable of when led by a cheery and courageous man whose power awakens confidence and whose good nature is a contagion. The man who makes his employees feel that the work upon which they are engaged is his business, and that their interests are limited to the day's wage for the day's work, cannot at the last have such results as the man who inspires his employees with a sense of comradeship and makes them feel that it is their business as well as his. For its economic value we need to recover the joy of labour. Integrity upon the part of the employer is a source of efficiency upon the part of the workman. If the carpenter and the mason and the plumber know that the contractor would scorn to

add to his profits by a concealed crime in poor construction, they also will be stimulated to a sense of honour in their individual work. If they see him willing to take an advantage gained by being dishonest, they will be ready to shirk a reasonable task by becoming contemptible. Truth in the inward parts is not alone an asset in character; it is an asset in labour. Society, by the most stringent laws and the most careful inspection, is bound to protect the individual against every form of economic falsehood. The grocer shall not be allowed to lie about his goods, nor the dry goods merchant about his goods. We must come back to the old-fashioned faith in the old-fashioned righteousness, for righteousness is not a thing of books and creeds; it is a thing of houses and stores and shops and factories. It is a gospel written not alone in forms of worship and words of faith, but it is a gospel written in the economic interests of mankind.

A further fallacy which underlies much of the debate on questions of work and wages is to be charged to the utterly false view of the nature of human society. Each man thinks he must secure his share of what has already been produced or what may be produced under present conditions of

industrial organisation. This view must be exchanged for the dynamic view of social and industrial life. We are not living in a settled order. There has never been a settled order in any age. We are on the march. This old earth of ours has been yielding new surprises in the discovery of new forms of matter and new applications of force. The wealth that we have already taken possession of is probably only a tithe of the wealth yet to be discovered. The great improvements in processes of labour are prophetic of still mightier changes. We are living in a world that is capable of untold industrial expansion. What we need is a little more imagination. The food for the imagination can be easily supplied by a contemplation of history. The rise of the workingman would never have been possible in spite of all his labour unions, and all his efforts, if it had not been fundamentally based upon vast social and economic progress. The problems of human life are, at the last, one problem. No solution can be reached for the industrial world which is not reached also for every other human interest. The city of God lieth four square. It is only by the harmonious development of human powers and by the full employment of all possible human activities that

man may at last grow rich, and life become sweet and gracious; and at this task of conquering the world and enriching the social order, every man, whatever his lot and place, must work. He is a member of a great organic life; in its victory he shares; in its defeat he is doomed. With imagination kindled, affection awakened, and intelligence illumined, there will be born vast and common ambitions in which all men may share.

IX

THE IMPROVED MAN

Social and Industrial Education—New Industrial Ventures—Increase of Wages as Capital—Economic Value of Virtues—Resources of Religion.

FOR higher efficiency the first need is an improved man. The world has been such a splendid place to live in that economical and mechanical opportunities have always been unfolded just as soon as men have grown to them. In fact, that fine product of social evolution, the self-conscious and self-governed man, is precisely the most difficult to obtain. We can discover new minerals easier than we can implant new virtues; we can make new machines with less effort than we can enthrone noble motives. Social and economic difficulties will all vanish before the advancing steps of the kingly man.

Now, the most primary and the most efficient agent in developing the new man is found in the social forces of education. The function of education has very largely been taken over by the

state, and in this respect no doubt society has done well, for the state is the most authoritative and the noblest expression of social power. The trouble with our education is that we do not thus far take its task seriously. This matter of education is the necessary completion of the war against child labour. It is idle to release the child from the drudgery of the factory to let loose upon him the savagery of the street. Each generation, splendidly free from the faults of the generation gone before, born plastic and as fresh from the hand of God as the first Adam, has a right to the very best that society can do. Education must have a thoroughly useful foundation. Here the art of life must be fully explained. It is not enough to quicken the memory and train the judgment; it is required that the new child life should be related to everything that is best in the corporate life. It is the view of education as the process of moulding the child so that its best development may be reached and its greatest social efficiency be secured, that furnishes the basis for a practical adjustment. The girls must be taught how to sew and cook, how to buy and use, and how to become mistress of the whole range of domestic life. This education must be thorough, and it must be universal.

The state must allow no child to escape from its benevolent despotism. The boy must be taught to use hand and eye, and to express himself in the world's work, as well as to learn the great thoughts of the great dead. Industrial training must bulk larger in the plans of the state. It may not be either proper or necessary that crafts of any particular kind should be taught in schools, but it is necessary that the boy should be developed along the line of craftsmanship. This is the more necessary on account of the nature of the modern workshop. The efficiency of industries has come through division of labour and the specialisation of particular occupations. Efficient work is now very often confined to very narrow limits. These limits lead to no general skill, nor do they give any large cultural results to the workmen. There is no pressure upon him for adaptation, and there is no opportunity for initiative. A man may run a machine that drills holes or cuts wire for forty years and be no further developed than he was when he began the process. To avoid and overcome the limitations of the machine is one of the necessities of modern life. This can only be done by a breadth of elementary training that will enable a craftsman to pass easily from one occupation to

the other should circumstances require. But that is not enough. The best things of life are not expensive. What they require is good taste and the development of mind and heart. The love and appreciation of beauty cannot be bought for gold or treasure, but it may be had on its own terms by those in the humblest walks in life. While I would have an industrial foundation underneath education, that must by no means be its superstructure. Upon the material foundation there must be erected that nobler edifice which shall minister to the higher mental and spiritual needs of the man, and this kind of education should be made the common inheritance of every child in the republic. With a view of education at once so practical and so ideal, we shall develop a race which will be able to compete in the workshops and markets of the world for its full share of the industrial prizes, but at the same time it will develop a citizenship that will appreciate not alone the benefits of free institutions, though these are of value, but even more, the benefits of noble institutions, for it must be seen at last that the final test of organised society is in its ministry to the fullness of possible human life.

I shall be told that the development of a new race

is a social process so complex and requiring so much time, so much patience, and involving so much expense that it does not meet the demands of this insistent problem. What is wanted is some adequate cure for all our industrial maladies, that can be applied at once with satisfactory results to all parties. Neither side to the conflict has shown in the letters the slightest appreciation of the need of a better and larger man, or any conception of the agencies that must conspire to produce him. The interpretation of history is found in the measure of social capacity, which has been applied in the world's work from generation to generation. The growth of social capacity changed hordes into tribes, and tribes into nations. It bound social groups together by a larger and yet larger number of social interests, and as these groups became more complex they became at the same time more stable and capable of larger enterprises covering wider areas. Social capacity has been a thing in which the multitudes have only partly shared. Gifted individuals, highly organised special classes, have been the organs of its exercise. So a Greek phalanx or a Roman legion exhibited to ancient barbarians the soldierly power of a compact mass of men moved by one purpose. The new social

democracy must base itself upon the organising power of the multitude by expansion of capabilities, by new definiteness, and wider systems of interest. By such education as shall bring self-realisation the democracy must first win its power, and then it will be able to use it. There is one human lesson written large in many ways and in various languages. It is, perhaps, the supremest lesson of human experience, namely: New institutions do not make new men, but new men always fashion for themselves new institutions. Jesus understood this great law of human history, for when He proposed a new kingdom of God among men He began to say unto them, "Repent ye." Therefore, the kingdom of God was reserved for a new breed of men.

Such a new race of men will doubtless be prepared for new industrial ventures and higher social opportunities. It needs to be said explicitly that the great problems that confront us are not material; they are found in the limitations of human capacity. I am by no means content with the present forms of industrial organisation, but there is only one way to improve them, and that is to develop a better race of men. Whenever the workman becomes tired of working for other people,

he may work for himself if he has the ability to do so. The great want of the workingman to-day is not less organisation, but more organisation. It is not to sink back from labour unions to weak and sterile individualism, but to regard the labour unions as only a stepping-stone to more powerful forms of co-operation. Great fortunes are achieved by men who have the capacity to secure the earnings of a great many other men in order to invest them in individual enterprises. This is the function filled by the banks and other organs of credit. They gather up the savings of the people and lend them to those who carry on large enterprises. If the people had sufficient capacity, they would carry on their own enterprises and use their own money. The greatest enterprises are easily possible to workmen if they can undertake to carry them on instead of finding fault with present conditions and seeking only to get a larger share of present production. It is for them to say how soon they will reorganise industrial society and take the profits for themselves. You ask me where they will get capital for these large enterprises, and I reply they already have margin enough of wealth if they would only make it the foundation of capital. Mr. James Duncan, National Secretary of the

Granite Cutters' Union, declares that in fifteen years his 10,000 working people secured a total increase in wages amounting to \$33,000,000. Now \$33,000,000 would buy a great many granite quarries. Have the granite cutters bought the quarries? and if not, why not? What have they done with the surplus of wages? It is stated that during the month of September, 1906, something like \$100,000,000 has been added to the annual wages of the railroad employees of the country. What will be done with the additional \$100,000,000? It is stated that members of one craft are now engaged in giving 10 per cent. of their wages, and have been doing so for more than a year, in order to support a strike. This indicates a splendid reserve power, but suppose the two million workingmen who are affiliated with labour unions in America should each give 10 per cent. of his wages for a year to a common fund for new industrial enterprises founded by workingmen, managed by workingmen, and the profits of which should all go to workingmen? The result of such a movement in the course of twenty-five years would be beyond any ordinary mathematical computation. Why will they not engage in these colossal undertakings? It is because such under-

takings require the largest capacity for management, the wisest virtue for self-control, and a developed sympathy and subordination that makes perfect co-operation possible. What is done with the surplus earnings that workingmen from time to time have secured? It is replied that these extra wages are needed for more comfort, better houses, more abundant food, more of the joys of life, such as the employers themselves have, but it must be remembered that it was precisely because many of their employers were willing to deny themselves extra comforts, to work early and late, and to save to the very verge of parsimony that they were able to lay the foundations of their fortunes. Such far-sightedness and such self-control furnish the best lines of cleavage among men. In England, in three years of plenty in the seventies, wages were increased annually \$200,000,000. That made \$600,000,000 for the three years, but \$600,000,000 was just the amount of gold in circulation in Great Britain at that time. Did the workingmen by a common impulse, fired by a great ambition, save this \$200,000,000 a year? Did they change the savings into gold? Did they control the banks and dictate terms to financiers? Did they throttle the money changers of Lombard Street and

Threadneedle Street? By no means. If these things had been done, the past thirty years would have seen a new England, and the whole world would have been filled with the songs of the great achievements that had at last been wrought by the working classes. They would have superannuated the aristocracy; they would have swept out age-worn traditions and institutions; they would have come into their own empire. The working people of England earned \$200,000,000 extra per annum, and the sad companion fact is that the drink bill of England during each of those three years increased just \$200,000,000. All the increase of that bill did not come from the working classes, but enough of it came from those classes to leave the argument still sound that what is wanted is not so much better opportunity as the capacity to make wiser use of such opportunities as men have. In the United States we spend about \$1,200,000,000 a year in drink. This discussion is not in the interests of the temperance cause; this is an economic discussion. I am not arguing that men shall become total abstainers, but I simply put this question: Would it not be worth while for the workingmen of America to take from that drink bill, say, \$250,000,000 a year and put it into an indus-

trial fund for the building up of factories and the development of industrial enterprises owned by workingmen, managed by workingmen, and the profits of which should be received by workingmen?

The first need of the workingman, therefore, is an increase of working capital, because that means increased demand for labour. Institutions managed by labour and in its interests would set the standard for wages and for services. As soon as workingmen can own their own plants to any considerable degree the rates of interest will fall, because it will mean that labour has become more important than tools. It may be replied that the history of co-operation on the whole is not very encouraging. Of course there have been highly successful examples in commercial enterprises, and occasional successes in manufactures, but on the whole, labour which has been directed rather than self-directed has usually proved the most successful. Very well; whatever is most successful is for the interests of all the parties to the economic transaction, but just as soon as the workingmen have the social capacity, they can accomplish the social results.

This brings us to another doctrine of tremendous force, and that is the doctrine of the economic

value of the virtues. This splendid dream of co-operation can only become possible when there is widely diffused intelligence, but there must also be a widely diffused virtue. Great responsibilities require great wisdom, but great trusts demand a high sense of honour. The business man who owns his own business may be depended upon to use his self-interest as a safeguard to that business, but the business man who manages a business for his fellowmen and in their interest as well as his own, can only be relied upon when self-interest has been reinforced by a very high sense of honour. Confidence is not alone the basis of credit; it is the final element without which social organisation becomes impossible. The new race of men will make a new world. The world is rich enough; it will bear sufficient harvests to provide for the multiplied race for at least a thousand years to come by present methods. It has enough material for all kinds of commodities required by our present civilisation. It will doubtless make visible the glorious dreams of greater men and women in a greater day yet to be born. The ordinary relations between man and man, as at present defined in laws and guaranteed by society, have been worked out through thousands of years of struggle and

pain. These primary institutions doubtless represent the highest results of human wisdom. What is wanted is a little better kind of man to take advantage of this good world and achieve for himself the noble destiny which is the final justification of all corporate human effort.

Whence shall we gather strength for conscience, capacity for self-control, a deeper sense of brotherhood, and a larger view of life? These great interests belong to a special department of our human inheritance, which we describe by the name of religion. Above the kingdom of man there rules the kingdom of God. Deeper than all human laws are those divine laws founded upon divine justice. It is only when men have consented to obey God that they can be trusted to serve their fellows. It is only when the feeble human years stand out against the great background of eternity that human life grows great. Jesus of Nazareth, the peasant-prophet, companion, and brother of workingmen, proclaims the kingdom of God as the only solution of social problems. Religion is the common interest of all men. It preserves the sanctity of the home; it provides for right relations between parents and children. It furnishes honour for business and security for the state.

Railroad officials are anxious that their men should be sober and industrious, but they are not so anxious but that the greed for gain permits them to debauch both their employees and the community by Sunday excursions, which have neither a sound economic basis nor any social excuse. A street railway company whose largest asset is in the good order and good faith of the community has no hesitation in demoralising men by employing them to work on Sunday to dig tunnels and lay railway tracks. Employers are anxious that their workpeople should be sound in character, and faithful in their service, but they set them the example of playing golf and riding automobiles at the time of church service. Workingmen are anxious that ministers and churches should be interested in their interests and should dare to say brave words in their behalf, but when the sound of the brave words has died upon the air they turn their backs upon the churches until some other favourable opportunity comes to advance their economic interests. They desert the altars of religion for the cheap pleasures of theatres or debasing summer resorts. The great prizes of life are not cheap; men must be willing to pay the price. They cannot have the virtues which religion,

and religion alone, is able to nourish unless they will give their hearts, their thoughts, their love, their life, to God, the father of us all. The doctrine of the brotherhood of man is a beautiful dream, but it remains forever the baseless fabric of a dream unless it is founded upon that deepest of all realities, the fatherhood of God. To better our social condition we need close thought, careful study, a diligent application of the best methods, but at the last, without faith in the eternal foundations, without reverent recognition of the moral law, without a great throne to which human hearts and lives are accountable, there can be no final adjustment of social difficulties, and all earthly wisdom is but as sounding brass and clanging cymbals.

X

WOULD SOCIALISM DO?

Idealistic Socialism, Political Socialism, and Economic Socialism—Exploitation of the Workingman—State Ownership of Means of Production—Functions of the State—Socialism Ineffective—Attack upon the Family—Attack upon the Nation.

EVERY proposed change in the social or economic order may well base itself on the general proposition that this world is not so good a place as it ought to be. There is altogether too much poverty, ignorance, and crime; there are too many children who are maimed from the cradle in body and soul; there are too many lives which are cheated of development, and too many men and women evidently intended for happiness and usefulness who are cut off in the midst of their days. Sensitive souls who feel these truths are ready for almost any program which promises the enrichment of human life. There is no doubt about the present evils, nor does it very much relieve the situation to say that the evils are less now than ever before in the world's

history. This may be true, but it does not satisfy those who think that the working out of a better world through struggle and pain is altogether too slow a process for those who would see the world righted in their own time.

Anarchists and socialists are at one in the sketch of general conditions, but they differ as to the remedy. Bakunine represents anarchism when he says tersely, "The best governments are the worst." This Russian nihilist voices the opinion of those who believe that by a dissolution of the political order all ancient privileges would be destroyed, and on the ruins of the old order voluntary co-operation would furnish all the social bonds needed to secure the perfect life.

The trouble about understanding socialism is that every professed leader has the liberty of defining his creed to suit himself, but there are at least three distinct kinds of socialism, idealistic socialism, political socialism, and economic socialism.

From the days of Plato down to the present philosophers have dreamed of a perfect social order, and practical saints have made an effort to realise it. Sir Thomas More in the name of his happy island has furnished an adjective which de-

scribes the ideal commonwealth, but which also is used to characterise every impossible plan of social amelioration. Sir Thomas discovered Utopia. This idealistic socialism, which in its modern form is the child of the French revolution, characterised the English and French theories of the last century. This form of socialism, however, which proposed an equality of wealth and communism in distribution, is practically without any serious support in our generation. It is thus picturesquely disposed of by Robert Blatchford, the English radical:

“Socialism is not a wild dream of a happy land where the apples will drop off the trees into our open mouths, the fish come out of the rivers and fry themselves for dinner, and the looms turn out ready-made suits of velvet with golden buttons without the trouble of coaling the engine. Neither is it the dream of a nation of stained-glass angels who never say damn, who always love their neighbours better than themselves, and who never need to work unless they wish to.”

The second form of socialism, the organisation of a political party, differs in its program according to the country in which it exists, but it has one

characteristic in every country: It is distinctly opportunist. That is, it proposes to take up any question of the hour in which there is the line of least resistance toward success. In Germany it will oppose pensions for workingmen because that is a support to the present system of competition, and in England it will seek to abolish the House of Lords. It will assail privilege and laws for the protection of property at every possible point; it will make the burdens of capital as heavy as they can be made, and will embarrass as far as possible the administration of existing institutions.

Economic socialism has for its leading exponent Karl Marx, who, in his "Capital," which has been called "The Bible of Socialism," presents the doctrine in full form. The theories of Karl Marx were logical in that they carried to resistless conclusions the doctrine of the wage fund presented by English economists, and developed by Lassalle as the "iron law of wages." Briefly, the doctrine is that the wage fund cannot be increased under a competitive system beyond the point of the bare maintenance of the labourer and his family. Both Riccardo and Malthus furnish some foundation for this doctrine. The doctrine of Malthus in the "Principle of Population" would lead us to believe

that the workingman's family would increase faster than it could be economically possible for his wages to increase, and consequently bare maintenance is a necessity from the vital point of view, as the teaching of Riccardo would lead us to believe it to be from the economic point of view. Of course, the doctrine of Malthus, if fully expounded, would be even more crushing against socialism than almost any other theory. But economic socialism teaches that the labourer is cheated of the due rewards of toil. At this point all socialists will agree with Prudhon that "property is theft." In a recent number of the *Century Magazine*, Professor F. H. Giddings intimates that the crucial question of the whole subject is whether or not the workingman is exploited. Karl Marx and all his economic followers would assert that he is, meaning by exploitation that the workingman has wages to maintain him at the lowest possible standard of living and that the large surplus value arising from his labour goes to the employer. Adam Smith is quoted by Morrison Davidson, perhaps the ablest socialist writer in recent years, as furnishing the true economic basis when he says, "The product of labour is the natural recompense or wages of labour," Mr. Davidson wishing his readers to under-

stand by this that the total result of a day's work, without regard to interest or superintendence, ought to be the property of the man who works with his hands.

How does economic socialism propose to secure its ends? The principal means of production and distribution must become the property of the state. This includes lands, mines, railways, workshops, and factories. The power of money is to be destroyed in some way or other, either by abolishing money entirely and filling its functions by other means or certainly by abolishing that iniquitous thing, interest on money, for it is interest that enables the idle rich to live upon the labour of the working poor. Mr. Spargo, an American writer, in his recent work on Socialism, proposes that private production shall be allowed in certain industries not specified, together with co-operative production, and finally production and exchange by the state. Mr. Spargo proposes to preserve competition, notwithstanding that is the bane of all socialists. Evidently he fears to trust the state to carry on all the work, and wishes to safeguard the new state by allowing competition between three forms of production. Most modern socialistic writers are very vague in discussing the

structure and the function of the socialistic state. It is time enough to settle what that state shall be when the majority of electors shall be content to accept the doctrine that the workingman is exploited and the cure for the exploitation is in the ownership by the state of the means of production, including land.

Economic socialism is modern socialism in the form in which it is attracting the attention and support of a large number of persons in all civilised countries. It rejects the doctrine of early communism in regard to the distribution of wealth, "to each according to his need," and substitutes for it the later doctrine, "to each according to his labour." Under this theory, in the new state men will decide the length of their day's work, and some socialists hope they will also decide the nature of their tasks. It is proposed to have a time-book system instead of a money system. A man goes and works, it may be four hours, it may be six, at same task and at the close of his work in his time book the superintendent or foreman gives him credit for the amount of labour done. Commodities are marked at so much labour rather than so much money. When the workman desires an article from the public stores, he is charged in

his time book the amount of labour which the article is supposed to represent. Disagreeable tasks and unpleasant trades are to be maintained by giving a higher time credit for the same length of labour than in the more pleasant occupations. Under this beautiful system it is supposed that a man may be able to retire on full pay at forty-five, or fifty at the latest, and spend the rest of his life in the gentle occupation of philosopher or statesman.

It is precisely with modern economic socialism that the modern labour union has its controversy. The American Federation of Labour has always voted down socialism by a large majority in its national meetings. It seems to have done so rather by instinct than by any clearly defined and fully stated philosophy of the subject, but the labour unions have essentially a conflict with the theory of socialism. The labour unions assert equally with the socialist or the anarchist, that for the most part in human history the production of wealth has been accompanied by the exploitation of the workingman. The wage system supplants the slavery system because, on the whole, it is more profitable to the employer, but the labour unions recognise the importance of the captains of

industry, and instead of being used by these captains, propose to make them their servants. The labour unions propose by combination and by the sale of collective labour to prevent in the future the exploitation of the workingman. They propose to preserve whatever is valuable in the present social order, and to secure adequate rewards. They deny that socialism is the only method and doubt if it is even a possible method by which their wrongs may be righted. The labour unions not only hold this theory, but they have abundantly proved the soundness of their position by their recent history. So far from the workingman being universally exploited there are thousands of them who are now receiving probably as high wages as the production in their respective crafts will permit. The captains of industry should see that at this point the labour unions are a valuable ally. Wages in any line cannot be any greater than the average success in those lines of industry will allow. The captain of industry is a man, however, who by reason of his force and wisdom is able to secure more than the average success, and therefore the greatest possible conflict of labour unions in the matter of wages and hours will always leave the real captains of industry in a safe

position. No thoughtful person can have either sympathy or patience with the use of socialism as a bugbear by the great modern pirates of finance. It may as well be bluntly said that modern society will at last prevent one brute hand from finding its way into the pockets of the multitude that the owner of the hand may possess uncounted wealth while the multitude suffer incredible distress. Not all the army of the defeated, not all the poor scholars and dreamers, nor all the revolutionary politicians and demagogues taken together, preach half so effectively the doctrine of socialism as that doctrine is propagated by these pirates themselves. If ever socialism comes, it will come because a few men are strong enough to defeat the claims of social justice prescribed and enforced by the state.

The quest of first importance in the study of this subject is to discover what is the true function of the state. The history of institutions shows that it is by no means a closed question. In primitive savagery the state itself was vague in form and in function and only took on special leadership in times of special emergency. When the primitive social group must fight or would migrate it must have a leader. Private disputes were left

to private individuals; the existence of property was so rudimentary as to neither ask for nor deserve the care of the whole group, but as Loria, in "The Economic Foundations of Society," and other modern writers have shown, the development of property has been the organising cause of the development of social institutions. It is here that it seems to me the weakness of the socialistic argument is most manifest. The primary savage with only the rudiments of property was naturally an anarchist. All institutions were practically forms of voluntary co-operation. When land had no scarcity value because the world was large and men were few, the co-operative labour value of the group led to public ownership of land and a greater or less degree of socialism. As society became distinctly organised and more highly developed, as social groups became larger and their interests more complex, the evolution led naturally and directly to individual ownership. By the processes of the past and by the general law of evolution we may expect that this individualism will pass into higher unities, but only in so far as the individualism itself is definite and coherent. With the development of property the state itself has taken on more numerous functions, and found for itself

new duties. The changes of function between local government and general government have been particularly marked. The municipality used to make treaties, coin money, and even declare war, but it had no sewer system, no public streets, no adequate fire protection, and, in short, did almost none of the business now carried on by the modern city. Local government has been robbed of many of its functions to enrich the general government, but meantime local government has discovered for itself new duties. Both local and national governments care for sanitation, the public order, and the public welfare in a larger and more definite way than the ancient states. It is probable that we have by no means reached the limit in the development of the state. It has assumed the right to regulate the church and the family, and has become the supreme institution of modern times. Whatever can best be done by the whole people together must at last be done through the state. But here again it must be remembered that power alone is not sufficient for the performance of duties. It requires self-consciousness as well as power. Public honour is as essential in carrying on the functions of government as private honour is essential in the relations between individuals.

Let any country beware of increasing the functions of government beyond the moral capacity of its people.

The functions of the state must always be open to discussion and to readjustment, but of one function there can be no question. It is the first duty of the modern state to secure justice in the relations of its citizens. It must curb the strong and protect the weak. It must secure private rights, but it must not allow private rights to infringe upon the common good. The management of business through corporations is, it seems to me, too well established and too valuable to be given up, and those large organisations which are sometimes called "trust corporations" will stay as a permanent organ of economic life if they are found economical; whether the machine be made of iron or is simply a form of human association, that machine which does the work with the least labour and the best results will at last be used. To embarrass effective production is both unnecessary and unwise. But trust corporations must be supervised by the state, and with the new developments and new complexities in the modern industrial world, there are new functions for the state which must be honestly accepted and thoroughly performed.

The state can serve neither individual nor class except incidentally. It is the duty of the state to serve the whole people and to secure justice for all its citizens.

I am opposed to socialism precisely because I do not think it can remedy the evils which we all recognise. The vagueness of the socialistic state is not an accident. It is because no theory of such a state can be worked out that will be satisfactory. Socialist writers tell us that under the new order men may choose their occupations and the length of their day's work. It must be plain that no great industries can be maintained in any such fashion. The success of any modern factory depends upon the due proportion of workers in the different departments. It is one vast machine. Each part must be in its place and each factor must perform its service systematically with all the rest. Under socialism, where the state possesses the means of production, some authority must decide what work shall be done, by whom it shall be done, and how it shall be done. Unless there is such an authority, it is chaos. There are only two ways in which leadership can be exercised: one, by the state itself through organised bureaus. This would promise the development of a caste system the

worst the world has ever known. Anyone who has studied the development of bureaus in such governments as are especially dependent upon them, for example in France, will have data for deciding what would happen in case these bureaus were multiplied and extended to cover the whole life of the people. If the management is not vested in the state, it must be vested in the group of workers in any department. That would promise management by the general average of intelligence, and honesty without the spur and prudence of self-interest. It is easy to be seen that such an average would not rise to the highest wisdom, and consequently production, instead of being increased, would be checked.

But economic socialism does not promise to preserve the methods by which the industrial world has always been enriched. That method is special reward for special service. There can be no doubt that our own country, both in the State and in the nation, has been very reckless in giving up the ownership of its natural resources, and yet, on the other hand, there can be no question that labour has been stimulated by this policy, and the industrial community vastly enriched. We fasten our eyes upon the successes, but we do not remember

the failures. Take the department of mining, for example. The one prospector who makes a rich discovery and maybe gains fabulous wealth, we know and envy, but the thousands of prospectors who find nothing but disappointment and broken hopes are easily forgotten. There are plenty of people in the mining districts of this country who will tell you that more money has been lost than has been made in developing mining properties. We fasten our eyes upon the one successful man who by some fortunate invention has gained large wealth; we forget the ten thousand experimenters who, hoping against hope, have failed of any commercial success. Socialism might do fairly well as a form of organisation for a state of society that hopes for no progress; but that progress which depends upon the development of individual strength and capacity, the concentration of individual energy and the best achievements of individual sacrifice, must promise special rewards for special service. Socialism, therefore, will not right the wrongs which we recognise, because it does not promise to make production cheaper and more abundant. Nor does it promise to furnish incentive to the individual that will stimulate all his powers and provide for social and industrial progress.

Socialism rests upon the evolution, however, of the relation of the individual to institutions. It proceeds upon the assumption that perfect institutions will make perfect men. The whole history of the world is an argument for the contrary thesis. The wiser and better men are, the nobler will be their institutions, and social groups have always had not only as good institutions as they deserved, but they have had from the beginning institutions which have served them better than better institutions could have done.

The kingdom of God in politics, in economics, in morals, and in religion depends at last upon the repentance and regeneration of the individual. Noble men may always be trusted to live nobly. Through its faith in institutions socialism ignores the value and necessity of educational and ethical processes.

Socialism makes an assault upon the family. I do not pause to quote the numerous utterances of socialists upon the relations of the sexes. Morrison Davidson declares that in the new state the children will belong primarily to the mother. I do not charge upon socialists what many have—that their doctrine is essentially immoral. The ground upon which socialism must be regarded as an attack upon

the family is manifestly economic. Under the doctrine of private property the home is the economic unit of society. This has developed monogamy as the marriage form, and it has steadily developed the economic protection of women and children. State ownership substitutes group property for family property. The greatest incentive the individual man has for industry and thrift is the care of his own family. When the care of the family no longer devolves upon him in the same sense, to that extent his incentives are weakened; and if it be true, as socialists themselves usually affirm, that the foundations of society are economic, then it will follow that if the economic foundations of the family are dissolved, the family itself will be destroyed. We have heard far too much already of the economic equality of the sexes, and far too little of the vast importance of the monogamic family as the greatest culture conquest in human history.

Finally, socialism is an assault upon the nation. It is essentially anti-patriotic. It asserts its kinship with all men in a communion of sympathies which is world-wide. Those people who love everybody in such an effusive manner that they love no one better than another, in reality never love at all.

Home, friends, country, are not words alone. They are means of self-expression and of self-development. It is by the privacy of home against home that the security of the personal life is assured. It is the men who love their own country best who may be trusted to admire most what is good in every other country, and to seek to incorporate it in their own institutions; it is those who appreciate the value of definite and personal kinship who can be trusted to sympathise most keenly with the brotherhood that is world-wide.

THE END

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